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JOHN BYROM, MA-F.R.S.

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BYROM AND THE WESLEYS.

BY THE

REV. DR. HOOLE.

(REPRINTED FROM THE WESLEYAN-METHODIST MAGAZINE.)

WITH A PORTRAIT OF DR. BYROM.

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BYROM AND THE WESLEYS.

I. OXFORD.

THE name of Byrom will ever be associated with that of the Wesleys, because of their early friendship, and of the sympathy that eminent man had with Methodism; but likewise, and not least of all, because, of the bulk of manuscripts left by the two brothers, a very large portion is in the shorthand invented by Dr. Byrom.

John Wesley was a diligent writer throughout his long life. When he was at college, he copied his correspondence into pocket volumes, neatly bound, of duodecimo size. His sermons, his diary, and other compositions, were written in volumes of the same description, and formed a collection worthy of the most careful preservation. We have one of these volumes dated as early as 1724, and another in which he made an entry seven days before his death.

"I give all my manuscripts to Thomas Coke, Doctor Whitehead, and Henry Moore, to be burned or published as they see good." Such was the disposal of Mr. Wesley's manuscripts by his will. But the will was never carried into effect. To *burn* the manuscripts would have been like sacrilege. To *publish* them would have required means and money which the executors and legatees had not at their disposal. They cannot reasonably be blamed for not having effected that which was impossible. It may be doubted whether it was possible, in the circumstances of Dr. Coke's frequent absence from England, and of Henry Moore's itinerant duties, to keep the manuscripts together as a collection for the admiration of the curious in all future time. It may be doubted whether there were any pains taken to keep them together as a whole. The mournful fact is, that they soon began to be scattered. Some have found their way to the British Museum, and other libraries. A few remain in the possession of the Methodist Book-Room, or are lodged at the Centenary Hall. But the largest collection is said to be in the possession of a private individual residing in a village of Oxfordshire.*

I have before me one of the manuscript volumes, of the date of 1724. The writing is very neat and close; every letter perfectly formed, and the most finished accuracy observed throughout. Most of the words are abbreviated by contractions; some of which are, probably, of Mr. Wesley's invention. He appears to have used them in all his private manuscripts until the year 1740, when he began to write his diary in Byrom's shorthand; which he continued to do until his death in March, 1791,—a period of more than fifty years. It may be presumed that he preferred Byrom's system to his own because it was more compact, and was less easily deciphered. It has been said that he used it in correspondence with his brother Charles.

* The gentleman who would restore this collection to official custody would entitle himself to the thanks of the Connexion, and of the whole Methodist world.

Of this I have some doubt, not having met with any proof of it. That Charles used Byrom's shorthand in correspondence with his brother John, there is ample evidence.

If any apology were necessary for offering new information concerning the Wesleys, it may be found in the debt of gratitude which is due to them, under God, for our spiritual enjoyments and privileges. That they were indefatigable preachers of the Gospel, we know. That they were authors, whose works in prose and in poetry are in daily use, to our delight and edification, we also know. We are therefore persuaded that any additional particulars which can be given concerning their methods of writing, and their unpublished manuscripts, will not be unwelcome.

It was no light sanction to Byrom's system, that it obtained the approbation of the Wesleys while they were at college. Byrom was born in 1691, and was consequently twelve years older than John Wesley. When he was a student at Cambridge, Tom Sharp, son of Archdeacon Sharp, and father of Granville Sharp, "set him upon shorthand." He was stimulated by the high classic authority he discovered for the art:—"The Romans had their *notæ*; the Greeks, their *semeia*; the Hebrews, their *roski tibazeth*; and the Egyptians, their shorthands." Cicero's orations were reported, word for word, by his freedmen whom he had instructed. And the Emperor Augustus "taught his nephews not *natare*, but *notare*,"—not to swim, but to write shorthand. The truth is, the pursuit suited Byrom's genius. He amused himself for many years in perfecting his method for his own use, until it was acknowledged to be the most scientific among all the modern systems.* In 1720, the pressure of circumstances compelling him to personal exertion for the support of his family, he announced his discovery to the public, and offered his services to teach it to others. No system of writing in modern times made so great a sensation on its announcement, or was received with so much favour. It was taught at both Universities by authority; and in London it received the Royal sanction in a manner without precedent.

"On the 16th of June, 1742, His Majesty George II. came to the House of Peers; and, being in his royal robes, seated on the throne, with the usual solemnity, His Majesty was pleased to give the Royal assent to an Act securing to John Byrom, Master of Arts, the sole right of publishing for a certain term of years (twenty-one) the Art and Method of Shorthand, invented by him.

"What renders this act of grace still more remarkable, is, that it was obtained free of expense. The Clerk of the House of Lords visited Byrom several times, not with a bill of costs, but for the purpose of becoming practically acquainted with this new system of shorthand."

To some of our readers it may be necessary to state that John Byrom was a native of Manchester. He received a University education; proceeded M.A., and became F.R.S.; and was some time Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He studied medicine and surgery, and took a physician's degree at Montpellier, in France, during his constrained absence from England in consequence of his avowed attachment to the House of Stuart. He was, therefore, familiarly known in Manchester, and among his friends, as Doctor Byrom. Whether he was more celebrated as a poet, as an inventor

* In modern reporting, it has been superseded by Mr. Gawtress's improvements on Byrom, (whose work on the subject has gone through two editions,) and by other systems which are commended by greater facility of execution.

of shorthand, or as an adherent to the House of Stuart, we shall not stay to decide.*

We must wait until we recover the manuscript volumes of Mr. Wesley's Journal while at Oxford, before we can ascertain precisely the date of Byrom's introduction to him, or the impression he received at their first interview. Where are those journals? What a flood of light they would cast on the state of things in Oxford more than a century ago! Information respecting his college life has been recently inquired for by some of the heads of houses in Oxford, who respect and venerate the memory of John Wesley. He himself refers to those records as a model by which his preachers may fashion and keep their own. On page 31 of the first volume of the Minutes of Conference, 1746, edition of 1862, occur the following question and answer :—

“Q. Is there any prudential help for greater watchfulness and recollection, which our Assistants might use?

“A. We believe it would be an inconceivable help if they kept a journal of every hour. The manner of doing it they may learn in a few minutes by looking at one of the journals we kept at Oxford.”

Byrom would probably be introduced to the Wesleys at Oxford by the Rev. John Clayton, of Brazennose, who was a friend and fellow-townsmen of his, and was also an associate of Mr. Wesley's little band of Methodists in Oxford. “Clayton was the son of a bookseller in Manchester; was born in 1709, and educated at the Grammar School; entered Brazennose College in 1726; and became Hulme's Exhibitioner in 1729. In December, 1733, he was appointed to preach the ordination-sermon at the great church in Manchester.” In the same month he brought seventy people, *all above sixty years old*, to be confirmed by the Bishop at Salford chapel. This is mentioned as an illustration of the effective ministry of one of Mr. Wesley's associates, then only twenty-four years of age. We find Mr. Clayton still associated with the Byroms after the doctor's death: for, “on the 7th of July, 1769, he preached the sermon at the consecration of St. John's church, Manchester, founded by Edward Byrom, Esq., the son of his warmly attached friend, Dr. Byrom. There is at Kersall Cell, the seat of the Byroms at Manchester, a large original oil-painting representing the interior of Clayton's school in Salford, and a full-length portrait of Mr. Clayton, in a blue velvet gown lined with white silk, surrounded by his scholars.”—*Fasti Mancun.* (ms.)

Mr. Wesley's mature opinion of Dr. Byrom is recorded more than once in his voluminous works. In volume iii., page 502, under date of July, 1773, he says :—

“Mon. 12.—I preached at Wolverhampton and Birmingham. In my journey from Liverpool, I read Dr. Byrom's Poems. He has all the wit and humour of Dr. Swift, together with much more learning, a deep and strong understanding, and, above all, a serious vein of piety. A few things in him I particularly remarked: 1. The first is concerning the patron of England; and I think there can be no reasonable doubt of the truth of his conjecture, that Georgius is a mistake for Gregorius; that the real patron

* Dr. Byrom was the author of those well-known Jacobite lines :—

“God bless the King, and bless the Faith's Defender;
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender:
But who Pretender is, and who is King,
God bless us all, that's quite another thing.”

of England is St. Gregory ; (who sent Austin, the Monk, to convert England ;) and that St. George (whom no one knows) came in by a mere blunder. 2. His criticisms on Homer and Horace seem to be well grounded. Very probably the *κύνες*, mentioned by Homer, were not dogs, but attendants ; and without doubt *οὐρηες* means, not mules, but the outguards of the camp.

“ It seems, that ode in Horace ought to be read,—

*Sume, Mæcenas, cyathos amici
Sospitis. Cantum et vigiles lucernas
Perfer in lucem.*

In the Art of Poetry he would read,

Unumque prematur in annum.

- Lib. 1. Ode 9. For *Campus et arcæ*,
Read *Cantus et aleæ*.
Lib. 3. Ode 29. For *Tunc me biremis præsidio scaphæ—Aura feret :*
Cum me—*Aura ferat.*
Lib. 3. Ode 23. Read *Thure placâris, et hornâ*
Fruge Lares, avidasque Parcas. And
Lib. 1. Ode 20. Read *Vile potabo.*

“ A few things in the second volume are taken from Jacob Behmen ; to whom I object, not only that he is obscure ; (although even this is an inexcusable fault in a writer on practical religion ;) not only that his whole hypothesis is unproved, wholly unsupported either by Scripture or reason ; but that the ingenious madman over and over contradicts Christian experience, reason, Scripture, and himself.

“ But, setting these things aside, we have some of the finest sentiments that ever appeared in the English tongue ; some of the noblest truths, expressed with the utmost energy of language, and the strongest colours of poetry ; so that, upon the whole, I trust this publication will much advance the cause of God, and of true religion.”

Again, in volume xiv., under date of January 1st, 1780, he says :—

“ I have likewise still in my hands abundance of verses, many of them original. And most of those which have been printed before are such as very few persons have either seen or heard of. Such are those in particular which are extracted from the Works of Dr. Byrom. It cannot be denied, that he was an uncommon genius, a man of the finest and strongest understanding. And yet very few even of his countrymen and contemporaries have so much as heard his name.”

During the twenty years which preceded the Royal sanction, Byrom had several times visited Oxford. The genius and learning which he exhibited, in the lectures he delivered on his favourite topic, would have commanded attention at any period. It was, probably, in June, 1731, when he was on a visit to that University, that he became acquainted with the Wesleys, and they acquainted themselves with shorthand. In a ms. volume which contains the dates of February, 1731, and October, 1732,—and apparently with the same pen and ink he used in writing the latter date,—there are two brief inscriptions in shorthand by Mr. Wesley ; the earliest I have met with.

As our next paper will relate to America, we will so far anticipate it as to state that Byrom was already acquainted with Oglethorpe, and approved and admired his benevolent plans for the colony of Georgia. Before his

departure, in 1734, Rivington, who was also a friend of the Wesleys, published an edition of Thomas à Kempis, which Mr. Wesley read for the press. It is said that Dr. John Heylin, Rector of St. Mary-le-Strand, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, was associated with Mr. Wesley in that task. Of this book Byrom records, that he purchased two copies for his children.

II. AMERICA.

CHARLES WESLEY was one of Dr. Byrom's most successful, as well as most distinguished, pupils. His shorthand pages are equal to copper-plate. Byrom, writing to him in 1738, says, "You are so complete a master, [in the art of shorthand,] that I shame at my own writing when I see the neatness of yours." No one can doubt this opinion who has seen Charles Wesley's Journal, begun in America in 1736, containing page after page of the neatest and most accurate shorthand; his shorthand Telemachus; his copy of the letters relating to the supernatural disturbances at Epworth; his extracts from the letters received from the Countess of Huntingdon; his Scripture selections; his various fugitive pieces; and—not least of all, but one of the most remarkable monuments of his patience, perseverance, and skill in this method of writing—a manuscript volume of the Book of Common Prayer, containing the Morning and Evening Services, together with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the year, and having on the last page the following inscription in his own handwriting:—

Finished, July 12, 1779,
in a Fortnight,
by C. W., aged 70.

Shorthand afforded the poet an opportunity of expending the torrent of his thoughts, without exposing himself to inconvenient remarks. On the same paper together with matter of a very different description in ordinary writing, you may find an outburst of scorn or indignation. Our friend Mr. Chubb has in his possession the Epitaph on Richard Kemp, in the handwriting of Mr. Charles Wesley; which he justly values, and very properly exhibits among his curiosities of literature. That paper contains also four lines of shorthand, insignificant in appearance, but, when deciphered, giving out the following sarcastic epigram:—

“‘Take time by the forelock,’ is old Charles’s word.
‘Time enough,’ quoth his son, with the air of a lord:
‘Let the vulgar be punctual; my humour and passion
Is to make people wait, or I can’t be in fashion.
If I follow the great only when they do well,
To the size of a hero I never can swell:
But to me, insignificant wight, it suffices,
If I follow them close in their follies and vices!’”

The London riots of 1771 may have been the occasion of the following *jeu d’esprit*:—

“Huzza, for liberties and laws,
For Cromwell and the good old cause!
The glorious struggle is begun
And Forty-Five is Forty-One:
The rebel rout secures our quiet,
By threats, and violence, and riot;
Brings ministers and kings to reason,
By libels, blasphemies, and treason;

In law's defence all law suppresses ;
 And London votes no more addresses :
 ——— of ——— does arise
 To open and to bless our eyes ;
 Old Noll we see in Wilkes return,
 Hugh Peters is revived in Hearn ;
 For liberty rebellion fights,
 And hell supports the Bill of Rights !”

His “Appeal to a Friend,” in 1744, on the ingratitude and abominable accusations of a much-loved convert, a minister, who proved unfaithful, extends through several neatly written pages of shorthand, in double column ; the following lines are a specimen of this yet unpublished poem :—

“ Poor reckless prodigal, by grace Divine
 Drawn from his husks, his harlots, and his wine,
 My arms received him with a fond embrace ;
 I kiss'd the filth and sorrow from his face :
 For him I join'd the' acclaiming hosts above,
 And loved him with my heavenly Father's love ;
 Cared for his soul with never-wearied care,
 Son of my choice, and burden of my prayer ;
 Rejoiced and gloried when he did run well,
 Labour'd his faults and follies to conceal ;
 In toils and tears my kind concern express'd,
 And cherish'd the young viper in my breast,
 Till by my friendship warm'd he shot his dart,
 The sting of subornation, to my heart !

“ See the bold wretch, again for Satan bold,
 By pride to every desperate evil sold ;
 Head of a ruffian-band in malice join'd,
 Scum of the church, and scandal of mankind,
 Choice synagogue, by dire revenge allied,
 Worthy of such a cause, and such a guide ;
 Whose calmer thought may moderate their zeal,
 Give each their part, and stroke them to his will ;
 Whose wisdom may in league offensive join
 The tutor'd harlot and the sound divine,
 Their horrid tale more plausibly to' indite,
 And teach the' infernal frogs to croak aright.

* * * * *

O God ! for what am I reserved ? or why
 Held on the rack of life, forbid to die,
 Compell'd beneath Thy heaviest plague to stand,
 And fear the bruising of Thy vengeful hand ?
 Why hath Thy wrath let loose these dogs of hell ?—
 Thy ways and judgments are unsearchable !

* * * * *

But wipe at last the sorrow from my eyes,
 And save my soul from death, the death that never dies ! ”

It was most gratifying to Byrom to learn that his art had been practised in America, and had been found useful there ;—that it had been of most essential service to Charles Wesley, as Secretary to General Oglethorpe ;—that he had taken down in shorthand the conferences which had been held between the English and the Indians ;—and that the universal alphabet, which he (Byrom) had given to John Wesley in Manchester, before his departure for Georgia, had been applied to the Indian language by another of his pupils, Mr. Ingham,* who had succeeded in forming a vocabulary containing perhaps one half the words in the Indian language.

* This companion of the Wesleys in Georgia was afterwards known as the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, M.A., Rector of Aberford in the county of York ; who married the Lady Margaret Hastings, daughter of Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon,

In those days letters from America were sought after with eagerness. Those of the Wesleys were deemed especially interesting, and were passed from hand to hand to be read. Byrom has this record, in his shorthand journal:—"Tuesday, August 24th, 1736.—Last Saturday Mr. Clayton called here with a young clergyman of Christ Church, Oxford, (who was at his house,) where he had entered his brother. They called for Mr. Wesley's letter from Georgia. I drank tea with them and Mr. Rivington in the afternoon."

Byrom describes his meeting with Charles Wesley after his return from Georgia, as follows:—

[BYROM'S SHORTHAND JOURNAL.]

"Friday, June 10th, 1737.—At the Duke of Devonshire's, nine o'clock. I met Mr. Charles Wesley in the street, who was coming to Abington's, to call upon me. He turned back, and came with me as far as the duke's, and then went to Mr. Hutton's, where he lodges. He told me that he was to go again to Georgia; that he had several books written in shorthand, which had been of very great use to him in America; that Mr. Ingham had applied the universal alphabet (which I had given to his brother when he was at Manchester) to the Indian language, and that it did very well for all the letters and sounds which were to be met with in that language; that Mr. Ingham had composed a catalogue of half the words in their language already; that he himself had taken down the conferences which had been [held] between the Indians and the English, in shorthand; that Mr. Oglethorpe had done great things; that there was a man that was transported for felony (one Wright) that had done great harm, and was a great enemy of Mr. Oglethorpe's without reason; that there was little hope of converting the poor Indians to the Christian religion, while a few traders there, for the sake of getting a little money, were suffered to make the Indians drunk, to cheat them, and to play such roguish tricks as did often make great mischief among them. He said that Tomochachi had a fever, and, being visited by Mr. O., had said in answer to a question, 'The great Being that gave me breath will take it when He pleases.'

"Saturday morning, 11th.—Abington's. Have not writ for these two or three weeks past. As usual, we have had meetings every Tuesday night, and, of late, Thursday and Saturday, to fix upon a paper of Dr. Hartley's, which he finished after various alterations, and gave to me on Thursday night last at the Hoop, our place of meeting. Nobody there but he and I, and Mr. Walton, and Fouquier. ('*The maid is dead; why trouble ye the Master?*' comes into my mind, as to the discouragement that is met with in life; that we should still pray and not faint, and do our best.)

"Yesterday, Friday.—Charles Hindley was to have come with my horse, but he did not. I breakfasted with Mr. Wray, who read Dr. Hartley's paper, and said that he was a clever fellow. But his objection was, its being too long. I stayed at my lodging this afternoon: Mr. Charles Wesley came and drank tea with me, and had his book again of shorthand, [respecting] Georgian matters; * in which I found many odd things and was a zealous promoter of Methodism. A manuscript volume of poems by Mr. Ingham is in the possession of the writer of this note. Theophilus Hastings Ingham, Esq., of Marton-House, in Craven, a magistrate of the West Riding of Yorkshire, is grandson of Mr. Wesley's companion and friend.

* Where is Charles Wesley's book of shorthand relating to Georgian matters? This book, if it can be recovered, with all his other writings, should be preserved under official care.

strange accounts, and could not tell what to make of Mr. Oglethorpe, who understands (as he says) St. Paul about celibacy so oddly, that he would not allow it to be so much as a permission. Charles himself talked, I thought, prettily, at last."

It may be no matter of surprise, that Charles Wesley, who a few years later preached the raging mob at Norwich into silence and good humour, should win from Byrom the record that "he talked prettily, at last,"—even when he talked in favour of Oglethorpe against Byrom. The latter was evidently desirous of a thorough knowledge of the character of his interesting friend, and took the opinion of others respecting him.

Chaddock, of Chaddock, in the county of Lancaster, was a common friend of Byrom and the Wesleys. He was related to Tong, of Tong, in the same county; and perhaps to Byrom also,—for he addresses him as his cousin. His opinion of Charles Wesley after his return from Georgia is given in a letter still extant. Humility, piety, and earnestness in religious exercises were already among the prominent features of the young clergyman's character, as described in the sentences following.

MR. CHADDOCK TO JOHN BYROM.

"London, September 27th, 1737.

"DEAR COZ.,—I received your last favour, 19th instant; and will hint your sentiments, in that modest manner you speak of, to our shorthand brothers, the first time I have the happiness to be amongst 'em; which I fear will not be soon, because Mr. Windham is set out on his travels. Dr. Hartley came to Mr. Tuneman's last week. He looks well, and presents his best respects.....If you wonder how I came to write in Mr. W.'s [Wesley's] letter, know that he let me copy the verses enclosed; and I write at large (*alias* longhand) to cover the shorthand, and prevent our peepers in the posthouse from opening it, which is constantly done when the shorthand is perceivable through. But to answer your last:—The freedom with which you express your thoughts is a greater proof of your friendship, and accordingly is more kindly received by me. In young professors, commonly, the tares of vanity appear amidst the good grain: but in the person spoken of,* I profess, I can't discover any, tho' I've had my eyes upon him for years. Nay, those occasions which might afford him the greatest reasons for pride are (if I may believe his own words) the greatest means of humbling him. One Sunday, walking with him from church when there had been a very full congregation to hear him, 'O, Mr. C.,' says he, 'when I got into the pulpit I was humbled exceedingly; to think, if, after teaching so many, I should fall short of my duty myself, and, having preached to others, should myself be a castaway.' But I must be foolish to think any words are a proof that a man is humble: no, we must judge of the truth of them by the spirit of the man, by the manner of his life, his designs, exercises, and the company he keeps. Therefore, leaving my friend to the judgment of God, I can only say that I am obliged to thank God for the advantage of seeing such a simple and unaffected piety as appears in all his manners, which, I believe, proceed from a pure fund; and for his conversation, and encouragements to walk before God with my whole heart, which I hope with renewed endeavours I shall strive to do, daily renouncing myself, and taking up my cross; that thus, partaking of

* Charles Wesley?

my Saviour's death, I may know Him, and the power of His resurrection in me. I beg you'll not forget me in your intercessions; for you have always a place in mine. And, pray, from time to time communicate such hints as may make me reflect upon the importance and end of life. Converse with me as often as you can by letter; for you know I love to talk with you, because you strive to set my heart right, and to give me true notions of life; for which accept my love and thanks, and believe me,

"Your very affectionate and obliged friend,

"W. C."

In reply to a letter which was addressed to Miss Atherton, the present owner of Kersall Cell, and proprietor of Byrom's invaluable manuscripts,* we are politely informed by her friend, Miss Bolger, (a skilful decipherer of shorthand,) that "the only Wesley manuscript found among the papers of John Byrom was the shorthand letter by Charles Wesley,"—from which we gather that he obtained pupils for his friend, and perhaps himself assisted as a teacher of shorthand. The letter is subjoined.

CHARLES WESLEY TO JOHN BYROM.

[IN SHORTHAND.]

"September 25th, 1737, Mr. Chaddock's.

"DEAR SIR,—An uninterrupted hurry has prevented my writing sooner. I am now forced to borrow a piece of Sunday. Next week I return to Oxford, and will then find time to look about for subscribers. Between twenty and thirty have given me in their names. The printing your proposals would bring in great numbers, and give me an opportunity of trying my interest before I leave England. Dr. Richardson, Master of Emmanuel, and others of your Cambridge friends, take it a little ill they hear nothing of the proposal from you. People, I much believe, would come generally into it, were there any time (however distant) mentioned, wherein the thing would probably be published. You will pardon my troubling you with my impertinent memoranda. By your leave and written communication, I would immediately begin to take subscriptions. My very humble service to all friends at Manchester; Mr. Clayton, in particular. I fear, by his silence, my letter to him miscarried. Pray, favour me with your opinion of Mr. Gambold's verses.† Mr. Chaddock sends his service: I hope he begins to be in earnest. I have only time to desire your prayers for your obliged and affectionate

"CHARLES WESLEY."

* Perhaps the most interesting part of these long-concealed treasures is that containing memoranda of Byrom's studies, written in books of every possible shape, and in handwritings of every conceivable character, showing a power of manipulation scarcely rivalled by any other professor of calligraphy. These exhibit the extent, the variety, and the accuracy of his literary studies, in a striking and indeed amazing point of view. There seems hardly to have been any language, of which the literature was of any value, which he did not master; and his writing of Hebrew, Arabic, &c., was such as the graver might vainly attempt to imitate. Nor was there any scientific or literary question, agitated by scholars in his day, into which he did not heartily enter. To these journals, however, it is impossible to do justice by any attempt at publication. They remain wonderful memorials of "the industry of an idle man."

† Mr. Gambold's verses are upon "Religious Discourse." The first line is,—

"To speak for God, to sound our Saviour's praise."

Various particulars relating to the Rev. William Law are reserved for our paper No. III. Meantime it would appear, from the following decipherings, that Byrom did not agree with the Wesleys in their opinion of his friend.

"Saturday, July 2d, 1737.—Mr. Charles Wesley called as I was shaving, and brought two letters about the Mystics that he had mentioned; one from his brother in Georgia,* the other an answer to it from the brother at Tiverton,†—and both of them unintelligible to me. I wondered where Mr. John Wesley had got his notions from: for he mentioned Taulerus‡ amongst the Mystics, and Mr. Law, who was but very ill understood as it seems to me. He defined the Mystics to be *those who neglect the use of reason, and the means of grace*:—a pretty definition! I told Mr. Charles Wesley that it was from the Mystics, if I understood whom they meant by that title, that I had learnt that we ought to have the greatest value for the means of grace. There was the expression, 'If any like reading the heathen poets, let them have their full swing of them,'—or to this effect: at which I wondering, he said that it was the advice of Mr. Law, and talked very oddly, I thought, upon these matters. He would have left the letters with me; but I chose to read them and give them back again: for I did not much like them, and thought that neither of the brothers had any apprehension of Mystics, if I had myself,—which [is matter of] query: but, if I have, I find it necessary to be very cautious how one talks of deep matters to everybody. What is given to a great sinner, as myself, for his help, may not be a proper way of treating a more innocent person. God only knows: to Him be glory! Amen.—As we went along, he said, 'Do not you think *that* a palpable mistake of Mr. Law's, in his *Serious Call*, that there is no command for public worship in Scripture?' §—and he said that it was much that he would not leave it out. I endeavoured to show him what a trifling objection it was: but he persisted a little obstinately; and I thought that it was better to let alone the contention about it. I believe that he has met with somebody that does not like Mr. Law, by his telling me the other day of the objections made against the title of the book, *A Demonstration*; and my zeal for vindicating the book is too [great], I fancy.

* John Wesley.

† Samuel Wesley, M.A., elder brother of John and Charles, Usher of Westminster School. Owing to his attachment to Atterbury, and his opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, he was debarred of all hope of preferment at Westminster: but in 1732 he was appointed Master of Tiverton School, in Devonshire; where he died in 1739. He was a very high Churchman, and much opposed to the irregular proceedings of his brothers; an excellent scholar, withal, and a good poet.

‡ John Taulerus, a Dominican monk, and celebrated Mystic divine, died at Strasburg in 1361. His *Theologia Germanica* was much admired by Luther, and has been translated into several languages. He bore with exemplary patience the persecutions of the monks, whose notorious vices he lashed with great freedom.

§ The passage occurs in the first chapter of the "*Serious Call*," beginning, "It is very observable that there is not one command in all the Gospel for public worship; and perhaps it is a duty that is least insisted upon in Scripture of any other." Law's object was to excite a devotional spirit; and he opposed formalism at the expense of our blessed Saviour's example, who regularly attended the public worship of the Jews. Byrom's poem, "Church Communion, from a Letter of Mr. Law's," was written with a similar view; and eloquently enforces the indisputable truth, that—

"Christianity that has not Christ within
Can, by no means whatever, save from sin."

"I believe that Mr. Law had given his brother, or him, or both, very good and strong advice, which they had strained to a meaning different to his. He said that he was to go to one Mr. Hooke in Hertfordshire, a clergyman that was of Trinity College,* to teach him shorthand: for he would learn if my book was not to come out in a twelvemonth, which I told him that it would not. He said that he had learnt Weston's before; that it would do well if everybody learnt Weston's first, and then ours would be such an ease to them. I told him, upon his asking if I had a copy of Dr. Hartley's paper, No, that the doctor had it himself; and I went with him thither, and the doctor gave it him. I went as far as the park with Charles Wesley, and took leave with him; thence to Mr. Lloyd's, who was still at Windsor."

III. LONDON.

A LIVELY and well-written book is Law's "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life." Each reader finds in it a striking delineation of his own character, and of the character of his friends also. It contains descriptions of society in its various phases, more numerous and entertaining than are to be found in the most popular modern novel. It deserves to be read universally, and would, no doubt, be much more read than it is, if the word "serious" did not occur on the title-page. In the sense of *earnest* and *truthful*, the book is "serious:" but it is neither dull nor uninteresting. It is one of those writings of the Rev. William Law, which, in the words of Mr. Wesley, "will remain an everlasting testimony of the strength and purity of the English language." The celebrated Dr. Johnson is reported to have said, "When I was at Oxford, I took up Law's 'Serious Call to a Holy Life,' expecting to find it a dull book, (as such books generally are,) and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational inquiry." The share which Mr. Law's "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call" had in moulding Mr. Wesley's religious life at Oxford, (which finally resulted in Methodism,) will impress all lovers of vital godliness with a sense of the obligations of the Christian world to those books, and to their author.

In February, 1729, Byrom notes that he "bought Law's 'Serious Call,' of Rivington." Three days after, he complains, "I have bought Mr. Law's book since I came to town, but have had no time to read him yet.....I find the young folks of my acquaintance think Mr. Law an impracticable, strange, whimsical writer; but I am not convinced by their reasons. For Mr. Law, and Christian religion, and such things, they are mightily out of fashion at present. Indeed, I do not wonder at it: for it is a plain, calm business; and here people are, and love to be, all of a hurry, and to talk their philosophy, their vain philosophy, in which they agree with one another in nothing but in rejecting many received opinions." Within a month, however, Byrom had not only read Law's book, but had expanded

* John Hooke, B.A., 1723; M.A., 1727. It is probable that as a teacher of shorthand Charles Wesley employed part of his time, and improved his income, while he waited his brother's return from Georgia.

one of that author's striking passages into an amusing poem, "The Pond," * which begins with the quaint line,—

"Once on a time a certain man was found," &c.

These verses Byrom recited to Law himself, when on a visit to him at Putney, March 4th, 1729. "Mr. Law laughed," Byrom wrote to Mrs. Byrom, "and said he must have a copy of them; and desired I would not put the whole book into verse, for then it would not sell in prose.....So the good man can joke."

Byrom agreed with the Wesleys and Mr. Law in the desire to live a devout and holy life. During his visits to London, to obtain subsistence for his family by teaching, his time was much occupied among the wits and politicians of the day; but he longed for retirement from the world, and often breathed most earnest prayers for fellowship with God. He composed the hymn, sometimes attributed to John Wesley,—

"Come, Saviour, Jesus, from above," &c.,†—

and other pieces in a similar strain. The following may be taken as a sample.

"THE DESPONDING SOUL'S WISH.

"My spirit longeth for Thee
Within my troubled breast,
Although I be unworthy
Of so Divine a Guest:

"Of so Divine a Guest
Unworthy though I be,
Yet hath my heart no rest,
Unless it come from Thee.

"Unless it come from Thee,
In vain I look around;
In all that I can see,
No rest is to be found.

"No rest is to be found,
But in Thy blessed love;
O let my wish be crown'd,
And send it from above!"

"THE ANSWER.

"Cheer up, desponding soul:
Thy longing pleased I see;
'Tis part of that great whole
Wherewith I long'd for thee:

"Wherewith I longed for thee,
And left my Father's throne;
From death to set thee free,
To claim thee for my own.

"To claim thee for my own,
I suffer'd on the cross;
O were my love but known,
No soul could fear its loss;—

* Byrom's Poems, vol. i., p. 46. (Edition of 1814, by James Nichols.)

† Wesleyan Hymn-Book, p. 273.

"No soul could fear its loss,
But, fill'd with love Divine,
Would *die* on its own cross,
And *rise* for ever *mine*." *

When the Wesleys, having sought and found Divine mercy, began to preach the necessity of the new birth in order to holiness, and, with the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ alone, insisted on the kindred doctrines of the knowledge of sins forgiven, and the witness of the Holy Spirit to the believer's adoption, Byrom looked on and heard with less displeasure than many of his contemporaries.

Charles Wesley relates in his Journal that on Wednesday, June 7th, 1738, he and others were remarkably blessed in a meeting held in the house of Mrs. Sims, in London. He says, "I felt myself affected, as on Whit-Sunday; [when he found peace through believing;] was assured it was Christ." Mr. Verding "grew visibly in the faith, and we rejoiced and gave God thanks for the consolation.....Returning home in triumph, I found Dr. Byrom; and, in defiance of the tempter, simply told him the great things Jesus had done for me and many others. This drew on a full explanation of the doctrine of faith, which he received with wonderful readiness."

Soon after this, Byrom, writing to his wife, mentions many particulars relating to Charles Wesley, with whom he was in frequent intercourse, during John Wesley's absence in Moravia: as, the offer of a curacy, which Charles Wesley declined because of the distance from London; the piety of the Moravians, with whom he became acquainted through the Wesleys; and his intention to say more on the subject of experimental religion when he should see his family again. The testimony to the impressions he received is the more valuable, because it was not intended for publication. Need we apologize for inserting the letter nearly *in extenso*?

JOHN BYROM TO MRS. BYROM.

"*London, Thursday night, June 15th, 1738.*

"MY DEAREST L.,—I should have writ to thee last post, that I had brought B[rother] Jos. and Mr. Greaves to St. Alban's, and come back hither to satisfy the importunity of some shorthand friends, and to see some that I could not meet with before: but my horse was so lame, that I could hardly get him to London; and it was so late before I could [do so], that I was obliged to dress and go to the Bishop of Norwich,† (now Bishop of Ely,) and he kept me till eleven o'clock; and then I had Mr. Folks‡ to go to, whom I had promised in the park, as I went through; and now I am come to Cos. Chad, to write a line that I am well, and hope that they will be well at home before this comes to hand. I comfort myself that my stay is to be so short, to what it used to be: for I find no sort of satisfaction in being absent from them whom I love the most tenderly, and for whose happiness I am very eagerly and constantly desirous. I lie at the Axe, but am out all day. I have dined yesterday and to-day with Mr. Ch. Wesley at a very honest man's house, a brazier, where he

* Byrom's Poems, vol. ii., p. 140.

† Dr. Robert Butts, who was translated to Ely this year.

‡ Martin Folkes, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., President of the Royal Society, died in 1754; having in 1751, in conjunction with Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, obtained a charter of incorporation for the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was the President.

lodges, and with whose behaviour and conversation I have been very much pleased. Mr. Wesley's brother John * is gone to Moravia, along with one of the Moravians, and Mr. Ingham, ■ young clergyman of Yorkshire, that had been in Georgia. Mr. Ch. Wesley said he had been with Mr. Piers that was at Winwick,† who has some preferment about ten miles off, and he is to go to him again. He gives him a great character..... Last night I supped with Dr. Smith,‡ who is to be Master of Trinity College if Dr. Bentley should die, who as I hear is recovered from his last danger, though with a weakness of the left side. They say the Vice-Chancellor, &c., are to come from Cambridge to town with an address.§ There came a gentleman to offer Mr. Wesley ■ curacy of £40 about fifty miles from London; but he refused it because of the distance. There is much talk about Moravians, and many persons who have been moved by them to a Christian turn of thought and life. I went several times to meet with him that is gone to Germany, the other being gone to Georgia; but I did not meet with him. I have a good opinion of 'em from what I hear. Their manner, as I am told, is to convince men of their want of true faith in Christ, which if they had, they would have all their sins forgiven, though never so great;—the mercy of God so boundless, and His love to mankind so exceeding great, that, if they would but come to Him, they are sure of being received;—but then they must not depend upon their own righteousness or strength, but wholly upon God's love in Jesus Christ. Their manner of expression is very loving and comfortable. But more of this when I am so happy as to see thee.

"My dear, write to me. I would hear from the children. Pray God bless you all. Amen.

*"To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the Great Church,
in Manchester, Lancashire."*

The following commendation of "the poor brazier," and of the "doctrine these Moravians have brought," discovers a state of mind very hopeful.

JOHN BYROM TO MRS. BYROM.

"London, June 22d, 1738.

* * * *

"I THINK I told thee the Bishop of Ely durst not go out because of the gout, or we should have gone to visit him. Thou sayst, Is he a clever fellow?—as if he could get to be Bishop of Ely without that. Why, my dear, what measure of cleverness do you set? He is very civil, affable, and conversable; but we do not altogether agree in our sentiments. You would say that we were quarrelling, as you used to do when I disputed with a friend or so. Dr. Hartley, I suppose, had said some good-natured things to this bishop about me, that made him so condescending to his inferior. But, however, I confess myself full as well pleased with the sentiments of the poor brazier, whom I think I mentioned, and with whom I have been to-day, and had much talk with him. He talks more like a bishop, in one

* John Wesley gives an interesting account of this journey, and of the Moravian Brethren, in his Journal. See vol. i.

† Curate to the Rev. Dr. Annesley, Rector of Winwick.

‡ This very learned and scientific man succeeded Bentley in 1742, and died Master of Trinity College in 1768, æt. 79.

§ On the birth of George III., June 4th, 1738.

sense ; but, as yet, I do not know whether I rightly apprehend what doctrine these Moravians have brought amongst 'em, which so highly delights some and displeases others.* But, however, the subject is momentous ; and that love for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ which they express, some of 'em in a manner somewhat new to me, is moving. It puts me in mind of a stanza that I [have] somewhere seen :—

' Dear name of Jesus !—'tis to this we owe
The comfortable hope of being saved :
None other name do I desire to know ;
Deep in my heart I wish Thou wert engraved !'

"Mr. Charles Wesley is ill again in the country, at Blenn,† in Kent. His brother is gone to Germany : so Mr. Clayton cannot write to him. I am sorry that he thinks he can do Mr. Byrom ‡ no good. I would have him to be paid till I order the contrary. I shall see his mother again..... If he sends thee any letter according to threatening, never read it, but send it him enclosed, unopened, in a cover, back again. But, however, pity the poor soul. God knows we are all sinners ; and Christ died for him, and for us all, that we all may come to Him, however heavy laden. He receives all that come, and rejects none. O that His love might not be disappointed in any one heart !.....

"Dear children, I pray God to bless you all. Pray yourselves to Him. He made you ; He loves you ; He saves you in His Son. Love Him, and think on Him always.

"*Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the Old Church, in Manchester.*"

The Wesleys wished for two of Byrom's hymns for publication in their first Hymn-Book, A.D. 1738. The letter containing Byrom's answer is equally marked by kindness and good sense.

JOHN BYROM TO MR. CHARLES WESLEY.

"*Manchester, March 3d, 1738.*

"DEAR SIR,—I take the opportunity of Mr. Chaddock's going up to London from us, to return you thanks for your last letter, and the good wishes therein contained. I begin to think that your brother's arrival will be the occasion of your staying some time, at least, in England ; and especially, because you say that you are going to Oxford. We are in expectation of seeing your brother in these parts, from Mr. Clayton's intimation to us that he would come hither.

"As your brother has brought so many hymns translated from the French, you will have a sufficient number, and no occasion to increase them by the small addition of Mademoiselle Bourignon's two little pieces. I desire you to favour my present weakness, if I judge wrong, and not to publish them.

* Among those who were especially "displeased" was Warburton, who gracelessly said, in his "Doctrine of Grace," that "Mr. William Law begat Methodism, and Count Zinzendorf rocked the cradle ;"—adding, in his ardour for sober religion against fanaticism, that "the devil acted as midwife to Mr. Wesley's new-born babes." Whitefield he utterly despised, and called him "the madder of the two." Such were not the weapons employed by Byrom formerly, and more recently by Southey in defending apostolic usages against injudicious though pious zeal.

† Blean, near Canterbury.

‡ The Beau.

"I do not at all desire to discourage your publication. But when you tell me that you write not for the critic, but for the Christian, it occurs to my mind that you might as well write for *both*; or in such a manner that the critic may by your writing be moved to turn Christian, rather than the Christian turn critic.* I should be wanting, I fear, in speaking freely and friendly upon this matter, if I did not give it as my humble opinion, that before you publish you might lay before some experienced Christian critics, or judges, the design which you are upon. But I speak this with all submission. It is very likely that in these matters I may want a spur more than you want a bridle.

"When you go to Oxford, I beg my hearty respects to all our shorthand friends and others there. I have thought often of writing to Mr. Kenchin about contractions; but the tediousness of explaining that matter by writing, and the ease of doing it by conversation, have made me defer it in hopes of meeting with some occasion of doing it the latter way. As I have had the pleasure of talking with you a little upon that subject, you will be able to give him some satisfaction in that particular, or anything relating to the art; whereof you are so complete a master,† that I shame at my own writing when I see the neatness of yours.

"I wish you and your brother happiness and holiness; and am

"Your most obliged and humble servant,

"J. BYROM."

Byrom loved the quiet retirement of Manchester, his native town, and the society of his wife and children, in preference to the gay company and dissipations of the metropolis: but his inclinations had to yield to his necessities; and in his capacity as teacher, or, as his shorthand pupils termed him, "Grand Master," he spent a great part of the year 1739 in London. As that is the year from which, by general consent, Methodism takes its date, (the Centenary of Methodism having been celebrated in 1839,) it becomes the more remarkable and satisfactory that Byrom's notices of the Wesleys and of Methodism in that year are unusually copious. He kept his journals for his own satisfaction, and wrote many letters to his family and friends, in which he makes frequent mention of the revival of religion, and of his personal interviews with those who took a prominent part in it. Byrom valued spiritual religion; but he was not free from some of the prevailing prejudices against the irregularities, so called, of Methodism; and he entirely disapproved of Mr. Wesley's plain dealing with Mr. Law, for whom and for his peculiar mystical tenets he indulged a profound respect.

Mr. Law was a man of great conversational power; "a rapid genius," and one, it would appear, whose eloquence "flowed as a river."‡ His remarks were sometimes weighty and well worth remembering. "When I was in great danger of not valuing enough [the authority of holy Scripture], you made that important observation: 'I see where your mistake

* This excellent advice was followed by Charles Wesley; and in the Preface to the Hymns now used by the Methodists, chiefly written by him, his brother and coadjutor mentions the freedom from vulgarisms, and the true spirit of poetry, which will be found in the volume. One or two of the hymns were written by Samuel Wesley, the other brother; who seems to have thought, with Akenside, that poetry is only true eloquence in metre.

† As secretary to General Oglethorpe, Mr. C. Wesley found this art of essential service.

‡ Wesley's Works, vol. iv., p. 245.

lies. You would have a philosophical religion ; but there can be no such thing. Religion is the most plain, simple thing in the world. It is only, 'We love Him, because He first loved us. So far as you add philosophy to religion, just so far you spoil it.' This remark I have never forgotten since, and I trust in God I never shall." Beginning with this remark, Mr. Wesley proceeds to combat the erroneous views of religion put forth in Law's later writings, "The Spirit of Prayer," and "The Spirit of Love," in which he "continually blends philosophy with religion." * "Sir, you are troubled," said Mr. Law to me, 'because you do not understand how God is dealing with you. Perhaps if you did, it would not so well answer His design. He is teaching you to trust Him farther than you can see Him.'" † Law was sometimes sour and morose in conversation ; but that was probably when in company with those who opposed his views.

The early Methodists in Oxford in 1729 read Law's "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call," as Mr. Wesley had done in 1725, and profited by them. But his later works had no circulation among the Methodists. In the sermon "On a Single Eye," we find "simplicity in intention" set forth as "the very first point in true religion," without which "all our endeavours after it will be vain and ineffectual." "The same truth," it is added, "that strong and elegant writer, Mr. Law, earnestly presses in his 'Serious Call to a Devout Life,'—a treatise which will hardly be excelled, if it be equalled, in the English tongue, either for beauty of expression, or for justness and depth of thought." ‡ "On God's Vineyard:" "In the narrowest [sense] of all, one may by that phrase, 'the vineyard of the Lord,' mean the body of people commonly called Methodists. In this sense I understand it now, meaning thereby that Society only which began at Oxford in the year 1729, and remain united at this day.....From the very beginning, from the time that four young men united together, each of them was *homo unius libri*, 'a man of one book.'.....They had one, and only one, rule of judgment, with regard to all their tempers, words, and actions ; namely, the oracles of God.....It is true, a learned man, Dr. Trapp, soon after their setting out, gave a very different account of them. 'When I saw,' said the doctor, 'these two books, *The Treatise on Christian Perfection*, and *The Serious Call to a Holy Life*, I thought, These books will certainly do mischief. And so it proved : for, presently after, up sprung the Methodists. So he (Mr. Law) was their parent.' Although this was not entirely true, yet there was some truth in it. All the Methodists carefully read these books, and were greatly profited thereby. Yet they did by no means spring from them, but from the holy Scriptures ; being 'born again,' as St. Peter speaks, 'by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.'" § Sermon "On Redeeming the Time:" "In how beautiful a manner does that great man, Mr. Law, treat this important subject!"—namely, that of redeeming time from sleep. "Part of his words I cannot but here subjoin, for the use of every sensible reader." || "On the Education of Children:" "But what is the way wherein a child should go ? and how shall we train him up therein ? The ground of this is admirably laid down by Mr. Law, in his 'Serious Call to a Devout Life.'" ¶

Thus did Mr. Wesley do justice to Mr. Law's great ability, and to the excellence of his early publications. His later writings he characterizes

* Wesley's Works, vol. ix., p. 466.

† Vol. xii., p. 470.

‡ Vol. vii., p. 297.

§ Vol. vii., pp. 202—204.

|| Vol. vii., p. 71.

¶ Vol. vii., p. 87.

far differently. "1739, Oct. 23d.—In riding to Bradford, [Wilts.,] I read over Mr. Law's book on the 'New Birth : ' philosophical, speculative, precarious ; Behmenish, void, and vain !

'O what a fall is there ! ' " *

1740. "It is asserted that Mr. Law's system was the creed of the Methodists. But it is not proved. I had been eight years at Oxford before I read any of Mr. Law's writings ; and when I did, I was so far from making them my creed, that I had objections to almost every page. But all this time my manner was, to spend several hours a day in reading the Scripture in the original tongues. And hence my system, so termed, was wholly drawn, according to the light I then had." †

1749. July 27th.—"I read Mr. Law 'On the Spirit of Prayer.' There are many masterly strokes therein, and the whole is lively and entertaining ; but it is another Gospel. For if God was never angry, (as this tract asserts,) He could never be reconciled ; and, consequently, the whole Christian doctrine of reconciliation by Christ falls to the ground at once. An excellent method of converting Deists, by giving up the very essence of Christianity ! " ‡ So it appears that in those days Mr. Wesley had to combat the same views as are now put forth by the "Essays and Reviews," and those who defend and support them and their authors.

"I could not have borne to spend so many words on so egregious trifles, but that they are mischievous trifles :—

*Hæ nugæ seria ducent
In mala.*

[' These trifles serious mischief breed. ']

This is dreadfully apparent in your own case, (I would not speak, but that I dare not refrain,) whom, notwithstanding your uncommon abilities, they have led astray in things of the greatest importance. Bad philosophy has, by insensible degrees, paved the way for bad divinity." §

"If there be one falsehood in the Bible, there may be a thousand ; neither can it proceed from the God of truth." ||

"So Jews, Mohammedans, Deists, Heathens, are all members of the church of Christ ! " ¶

This erroneous teaching of Mr. Law has its sad parallel in ecclesiastical high places at the present day.

Whilst Mr. Wesley most strenuously protested against the errors, he entertained a charitable hope for the possible safety of the erring :—

"It is well known that he [Mr. Law] absolutely and zealously denied the imputation of the righteousness of Christ.....But will any one dare to affirm that all mystics, (such as Mr. Law in particular,).....and all members of the Church of England who are not clear in their opinions or expressions, are void of all Christian experience ?—that, consequently, they are in a state of damnation, 'without hope, without God in the world ?' However confused their ideas may be, however improper their language, may there not be many of them whose heart is right toward God, and who effectually know 'the Lord our Righteousness ?' " **

After reading Mr. Wesley's published opinions on the dangerous errors held by Mr. Law, we shall not be surprised to find that Byrom, in his

* Wesley's Works, vol. i., p. 234.

† Vol. viii., p. 366.

‡ Vol. ii., p. 151.

§ Vol. ix., p. 481.

|| Vol. ix., p. 499.

¶ Vol. ix., pp. 477, 478.

** Vol. v., p. 243.

admiration of Law, should have become less warm in his affection for the Wesleys.

Dr. Byrom was deeply read in the writings of the Mystics. With Malebranche, Fénelon, Poiret, Law, he was familiar. He read Jacob Behmen and Antoinette Bourignon, and excused in their speculations many things he could neither approve nor understand, for the sake of the spiritual views they took of religion. "Religious impressions had been early made on the mind of Mr. Byrom; and, notwithstanding the native sprightliness of his disposition, he did not in his youth entirely forget the end for which he was created." "The force of timely instruction had prepared his mind for acknowledging the justness of the fundamental principle of Mysticism: namely, that '*in the Bible, the word of God, there is a spirit beyond the letter*;' and that '*spiritual religion consists in the enjoyment or love of God, on earth, and in heaven.*'" In these views he differed from the great body of the clergy of his day, who were mere moralists, without any apprehension of the saving truths of the Gospel. He had felt, when at Cambridge, as a student and as a Fellow, that he could not concur with them in their neglect of inward religion; and, therefore, that he could not comfortably enter into holy orders. Under the force of these convictions, in the year 1716 he resigned his Fellowship, and forfeited all his prospects of collegiate and clerical promotion.*

Byrom was thus prepared to tolerate the spiritual views of the Methodists. He admitted the genuineness of their Christian experience: he admired their self-denial, and their zeal for God, in the practical rebukes they administered to the indifference and ungodliness of the age. He often sought their society; and was not ashamed of being known as their friend, and particularly as the friend of the foremost among them, the Fellow of Lincoln College.

Mr. Wesley says: "It is true that for a while I admired the Mystic writers. But I dropped them, even before I went to Georgia; long before I knew or suspected anything as to justification by faith."† His strong common sense led him to reject fanciful interpretations of holy Scripture which prevailed among the Mystics, even though recommended by the personal piety of the writers: herein differing from Byrom, who accepted their errors for the sake of their goodness. Mr. Wesley held Byrom in great respect; but he had a greater respect for the truth, the unadulterated word of God, by which he was himself to be saved and judged, and by which he sought to convert men from sin to holiness. On these points the friends disagreed; and Byrom, in his private jottings, and his confidential letters, often expresses his dissatisfaction with Mr. Wesley on this account. There was neither wavering nor compromise about Mr. Wesley. At no small sacrifice of reputation, and of ease, he had "bought the truth;" he would not "sell it" for any consideration, not even for friendship. His determined bearing and decided tone were sometimes distasteful to Byrom, who was his senior, and might think himself entitled on that account to a measure of deference which he did not receive. Mr. Wesley *knew* the truth, and held by it firmly. Byrom was not unwilling to remain *in doubt*, when the Mystics, including his friend and teacher Mr. Law, were in doubt also.

* The Life of John Byrom, M.A., F.R.S., by the late James Nichols, the learned printer of Hoxton Square. Prefixed to his edition of Byrom's Poems, Leeds, 1814.

† Works, vol. xiii., p. 372.

In stature, also, Byrom was in contrast with Mr. Wesley. He was one of the tallest men in England; so that in the course of fifty years he appears to have met only two men taller than himself. If we bear this in mind when he describes himself as walking with the Wesleys through the streets of London, we shall have the picturesque added to the other elements of interest in what he relates. We can imagine the remarkable group as they walked in company from Little-Britain to St. Mary's church, Islington, to visit Mr. Stonehouse; or as they sat together in earnest conversation and debate. Byrom's peculiarities made him extremely well known in the coffee-houses of London, where, among the topics of the day, Methodism and Georgia were freely discussed. Under date of Tuesday, February 6th, 1739, he thus writes in his journal:—

"I went out after breakfast to Coz. Chaddock's; thence to Child's coffee-house (coffee 2d.); thence to Mr. Hutton's, bookseller, who was going to dinner, [who] said that Mr. Whitefield was going out of town; thence to Mr. Lloyd's,—not within. [I] had bought (at Mr. Hutton's) Mr. Whitefield's continuation of his Journal, [of a Voyage from London to the Savannah in Georgia; second part published by J. Hutton, 1739, 6d.,] which I read at the coffee-house. Forests, and a gentleman there, desired to read it, and did, and said very severe things of him."

Mr. Bray, the brazier in Little-Britain, at whose house Mr. Charles Wesley was kindly nursed after his return from America, (where, also, he was made a happy partaker of God's pardoning love,) stood high in the estimation of Byrom. He often called at the house, and much enjoyed the brazier's intelligent and pious conversation. Again and again he met the Wesleys there; and on one occasion he notes, that he "walked with John Wesley and another young fellow from Mr. Bray's to Islington."

"February, 1739.—Abington's, Wednesday night, 7th. Rose at eight; breakfasted in my room; put on my cloak and went to Mr. Bray's,—not within;—to [the bookseller's in] Little-Britain, where I bought Elias Levita *De Accent.*, 1s.,* for some neighbour like Dr. Gray;—thence to Mr. Bray's again, where Mr. John Wesley came down to me, and I went after some invitation upstairs, where they were at dinner; but I ate none. His brother Hall there, who talked of inward matters: Evans of Oxford, a tradesman, there. I went with Mr. John Wesley to Islington, to his brother, at Mr. Stonehouse's.† Went with them to church; thence came to his house, where they prayed, after a hymn, in their Society-room. Thence Mr. John Wesley went away; and we three upstairs, and drank tea and ate bread and butter, and talked about faith; and I agreed to Mr. Stonehouse's representation of it, (which he said I should not do two or ten days after,) that it was what enabled us to cry from or in our hearts, 'Abba, Father.' He had been a great reader of the Mystics; particularly Poiret, who, he

* *Nomenclator Eliæ Levitæ, cum Censurâ et Comm. Franco.*, 8vo., 1652.—Levita was a famous rabbi, of the sixteenth century, who rejected the hypothesis of the very high origin of the Hebrew points, and referred them to the sixth century.

† The Rev. James Stonehouse, LL.D., of St. John's College, Oxford; born in 1717; succeeded his brother, Sir William Stonehouse, as the tenth baronet; and died unmarried, March, 1792, when the title passed to his collateral relative, the Rev. James Stonehouse, M.D., the friend of Hannah More. The individual here named was afterwards rector of Clapham, Surrey; and was succeeded there by the Rev. John Venn. The present patron, and the rector, Mr. Bowyer, are descended from Sir William Bowyer, Bart., who married Anne, the daughter of the Right Hon. Sir John Stonehouse, Bart., M.P., Comptroller of the Household to Queen Anne, in 1712.

said, was the best of them. Madame Bourignon, he said, was a fine woman ; she had the power, and was a right Christian, but knew not whence it came ; [adding] that Jacob Behmen was not to be reckoned among them, being a true man in all points ; that ‘Thauler,’ as he called him, was a good author, but his ‘Evangelical Poverty’ * a strange piece. Mr. Charles Wesley said that John Gambold †—so he called him—affirmed he [Thauler] was a spiritual Deist : and when I wondered at Mr. John Wesley’s and Mr. Stonehouse’s difference of opinion about him, Mr. Stonehouse said that indeed Mr. Wesley spoke too severely of him. He had said to Mr. Wesley, that he had, as it were, deluded him into their opinion about faith. I thought that love, humility, or any other name might express the same things ; [stating] that I was afraid of their being fond of a peculiar expression for a truth that was meant by many others. He [Stonehouse] said that he thought to read no book but the New Testament, only Mr. Law a little, whose book upon the Sacrament they both commended much. But Mr. Stonehouse said, he thought that he might have a little of envy or the like in him still, which he would find out ; and they both seemed to think that he would see his error, and be of another mind. I told him that I saw not their difference, but that if they did differ I must prefer Mr. Law to them ; he being an older man, and more likely to see farther. Mr. Charles Wesley came for London about seven o’clock, and I with him ; and Mr. Stonehouse hoped to see me again. I told him that M. Poiret was, I thought, an honest man, and very clever ; but that his mistress ‡ was an original, which he was not, but like one that changed gold into silver and half-pence for the common use, because he said that such and such things he had not from her.”

In the following letter, allusion is made to the same interview with the Wesleys and Mr. Stonehouse :—

JOHN BYROM TO MRS. BYROM.

“ *Batson’s Coffee-house, Thursday night, February 8th, 1739.*

“MY DEAREST SPOUSE,—I thank thee for thy letter last post. I was very glad of it : for, though in common time it is but a little while since I left thee, to my way of measuring it when absent from home it appears very long ; and nothing shortens the tediousness of it like hearing of all your healths, which I shall wish to do as frequently as possible.

“I went with Mr. J. Wesley yesterday to Islington, to see his brother at Mr. Stonehouse’s, the rector’s.....He is a very agreeable young gentleman, and in the way of thinking with them called Methodists, but more intelligibly to me than some others. I went with them to the church there, where an Anabaptist woman was baptized.

“Mr. Whitefield is gone to the country, and I have not seen him. He

* See Poiret’s *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, p. 113, for a reference to this work, which is mentioned under the title of *Tractatus de paupere Vita Jesu Christi*.

† John Gambold, M.A., a pious and learned Moravian bishop, was born near Haverford-West, South Wales ; where he died in 1771. He was of Christ Church, Oxford, and had been Vicar of Stanton-Harcourt, in the county of Oxford, to which he had been collated by Dr. Secker, when Bishop of Oxford ; but left his flock in 1742, although he always professed a warm attachment to the English Church. He published several works of a theological character.

‡ Madame Bourignon, with whose mystical writings he was infatuated, and whose Life he wrote. He also published a complete edition of her works in twenty-one volumes, 8vo. *Ob.* 1719, *etat.* 73.

has printed a Continuation of his Journal, wherein he mentions his being at Manchester. He says: 'Sat., Dec. 2.—Reached Manchester by four this afternoon, and was much edified by dear Mr. Clayton's judicious Christian conversation, for the benefit of which I came so far out of my way.—Sun., Dec. 3.—Preached twice at Mr. Clayton's chapel * to a thronged and very attentive audience, especially in the afternoon. Assisted, with six more ministers, in administering the blessed sacrament to three hundred communicants. Never did I see a table more richly spread, nor a greater order and decency observed. Blessed be God for my coming to Manchester! I hope it has greatly benefited and strengthened my soul. This has been a Sabbath indeed. May it prepare me for that eternal rest which awaits the children of God!'

"Mr. J. Wesley said that he had received a letter from Mr. Clayton, which Mr. Whitefield was to have answered; but, as he had not, *he* would himself: of which please to inform Mr. Clayton, because I promised to let him know.....The book against Mr. Whitefield by Mr. Land is thought a weak piece. There is an answer, supposed to [be] by a Quaker, or one under that character; not by Mr. Whitefield, or any of his friends."

1739, Feb. "Wednesday, 14th.—Rose at ten. Breakfast, green tea first time; the bohea being, as I fancied, a dyed tea. Went out, called at Mr. Bray's; went upstairs, and saw Mr. J. Wesley, who was going to give the sacrament, he said, to a poor woman. His brother not there. Thence to Mr. Hutton's, where I stayed some time."

1739, Feb. "I write from Abington's. But the lodgers don't go till this day s'ennight, being disappointed of places in the coach, and disappointing my expectations. They have been all talking by me here about Mr. Whitefield and Methodists very severely. I walked this afternoon to Islington again with J. Wesley, to Mr. Stonehouse's, who came back with me to London to meet some of 'em; and we had much talk of like matters. So one would think I should learn somewhat; but I suspend my judgment, as far as I am able. I can talk with Mr. Stonehouse more freely than [with] Mr. Wesley, from whom he differs in some points that he and I are more agreed in."

FROM SHORTHAND JOURNAL.

1739, Feb. "Axe, Friday night, ten, 16th.—Rose late, as usual. Went about — to Mr. Hutton's, where, he asking me when I would go to see Mr. Charles Wesley, I said, 'Any time.' His brother John and another young fellow were going: so Mr. Hutton said that I might as well go with them, and so I did. Mr. J. Wesley talked most of the way with his companion, and they took not much notice of me, being engaged about their own affairs, which I was not willing to hinder. Only he said, about Gray's Inn, that they took uncommon pains to spread the last 'Weekly Miscellany;' that one gentleman gave one to every housekeeper in his parish; that he had been with a clergyman of the city, (whom he named after, I fancy, for he mentioned Mr. Berriman,†)—that they began and ended

* Holy Trinity chapel, Salford.

† The Rev. John Berriman, M.A., born in 1639; of St. Edmund Hall, Oxon.; Curate of St. Swithin, and Lecturer of St. Mary, Aldermanbury; but in 1744 presented to the Rectory of St. Alban's, Wood-street, where he died in 1768, being the oldest incumbent in London. He preached Lady Moyer's Lecture, and published

civilly, but in the middle he seemed to say that they could not agree. When we came to Mr. Stonehouse, it was church time; so we went there. In talking as we came out of the church, I having said in the vestry that I was no Methodist, and Mr. Stonehouse that I was taken for one, Mr. Wesley said, 'I know that you are nothing but —.' I said, 'How nothing? I know not what you mean. I wish well to all: one may do that.' He went somewhere else,—to his sister's, I think; and I to Mr. Stonehouse's, where the young fellow that came with him and I drank tea and talked about matters, and especially about the Mystics, of whom Mr. Stonehouse had asked me if I thought he had said anything against them. I saying, 'Why, a little tending that way;' he said he did not intend to lessen them. He seemed to say that Mr. J. Wesley had persuaded him by telling him that he had conversed with people who had told him the mischief of the Mystics; and I said that he seemed to me not to understand them..... He described his notion of faith in some scriptural terms; to which I replied, that I had nothing to object; that I believed he might meet with those very expressions in twenty Mystics;—that *the coincidence of the human and Divine* was the thing; that Christ was the Head, and we the body;—that there was the same proof of His resurrection as if Dr. Emms* had appeared with his head above ground, upon seeing of which a man might well go and say that he was risen from the dead;—that a general was the leader, life, and spirit of the army; yet the soldiers must fight,—which, he said, was not a right representation, and described it otherwise. To which I agreed; and, after some various ways of representing the matters in words, he said we were both of a mind.

"I talked very freely, though before that young man,† who (I imagined) might acquaint Mr. J. Wesley again. He seemed to say, that Poirer was quite wrong in his notion of regeneration; and that he said wrongly that God sanctified before He justified,—which was not true. I endeavoured to represent to him, that it might be a difference of expression only; that

two posthumous volumes of Sermons by his brother, William Berriman, D.D., Fellow of Eton College, the friend of Waterland, and the antagonist of Conyers Middleton.

* Dr. Emms, of whom it was foretold by the French prophets that he would rise from the dead on the 25th of May, 1708. The resurrection was to take place in Bunhill-Fields, in the part commonly called "Tindal's Ground," precisely at twelve o'clock. Of course there was a very large assembly to witness the doctor's uprising, and great disappointment at his non-appearance. A broadside was published on the occasion, with the following title: "The mighty Miracle, or the Wonder of Wonders at Windmill-Hill. Being the Invitation of John Lacy, Esq., and the rest of the inspired Prophets, to all Spectators, to come on Tuesday, the 25th of May: when, to their exceeding astonishment, they may behold Dr. Emms arise out of his first Grave, and dress himself in his usual habit, to all their view; and with a loud voice relate matters of moment, preaching a miraculous Sermon. London: printed for J. Robinson, in Fleet-street. 1708." Mr. Lacy published a sort of apology for the doctor's not coming up according to promise, entitled: "Esquire Lacy's Reasons why Dr. Emms was not raised from the Dead on the 25th of May, according to the French Prophet's Prediction. London: printed for J. L., in Barbican. 1708." His fifth "reason" is ingenious: "Had we been peaceably suffered to appear on the day and hour we predicted, it would then have been decided who were the cheats and impostors; but when open rage, mob-fury, and even death itself, not only threatened, but looked us in the face; such a time, we are sure, was inconsistent for the undertaking of anything that related to a public satisfaction: for, had the miracle really been wrought in such a confused medley of ungovernable rabble, instead of being acknowledged as such, we had run the hazard of being torn to pieces."

† The Rev. Mr. Stonehouse was not much more than twenty-three at this time.

Poiret was an honest, consistent man; that he had all from Madame Bourignon, whom he knew to be my favourite.....I wondered how he should be wiser in these matters than the lady whom he owned to 'have the power,' as he always called it: [adding,] that I could recommend the Mystics even when they seemed to contradict each other in expression. If he knew anything better, I should be glad to know it; but should wonder still why he left them upon such slight authority, as it seemed to me. He seemed to be moved a little; and, (what I could not but take notice of,) being to go to London by appointment or promise to the Wesleys, to a meeting of some people in Newgate-street, instead of those gentlemen who were otherwise engaged, and had got him to supply their place, he said of himself that he would rather not go. I was willing to favour his escape, as I thought it; and, the other youth urging him to go by all means, because they would expect somebody and be disappointed, I said, 'Sure it would be no disappointment, if they came not for curiosity only.' He seemed irresolute, till, the other urging him very much, he said, 'Well, I think I will go.' And so we walked to London, and talked still by the way. I forget who mentioned Mr. Law first, but he said that indeed Mr. J. Wesley and he were of a different spirit. I shunned not to declare for the preference to Mr. Law. He asked me if I was acquainted with him, and I said, 'No, I could not say so; but I had seen him now and then.' He talked of doing so and so in his own parish: I said, 'That, indeed, was his office; he, being the shepherd, might look after his own sheep.'

"Mr. Charles Wesley had commended Bonne Armelle* in some of our discourses. He said that he would be glad of my company to dinner any time. I had told him before, about the Methodists, that my saying was, *Laudare nequeo; condemnare nolo*;—that what good there was in it I wished increase of; and what evil there might be, to be avoided.....When mention was made of caution and human prudence, he said he saw nothing of that in the Scripture. I said that when our Saviour exhorted His disciples persecuted in one city to fly to another, it was prudent advice; that a zealous Christian would have less self-denial, probably, in dying a martyr, than in following-out of humility. Upon the whole he seemed to me as if he might be persuaded to quit the excesses of the Methodists' scheme; and I wished within myself that he would consult Mr. Law. He said that he had had two or three letters which he thought odd ones, and that he had answered, but that his answers did not please.

"Thence I went to Abington's, where they were talking about the Methodists, and a Bedfordshire attorney violently against Mr. Ingham, who had spoiled his clerks. He said many ridiculous things about them; and that he would drive them away, and prosecute them. [He alleged] that they made Law's 'Christian Perfection' the bottom of their scheme."

JOHN BYROM TO HIS SON.

1739, April 26th.—"I was glad of your saying that uncle Josiah was better, and intended for London.....If he has a mind to know anything of Mr. Wesleys, &c., tell him that Mr. Charles Wesley is in London, but that I very seldom see him, not being quite agreed in all our opinions; though I have called now and then just to ask him how he does, because I

* Armelle Nicholas, an eminent Mystic, of whose account of herself Byrom has given a version from the French, one of his happiest compositions. (Poems, vol. ii., p. 65.)

wish him to do well heartily. His brother has been preaching at Bath, and thereabouts, as I was told. They have both together printed a book of hymns,* amongst which they have inserted two of Madame Bourignon's,—one of which they call 'A Farewell to the World,' translated from the French; and the other, 'Renouncing all for Christ,' translated from the French. They have introduced them by a preface against what they call Mystic writers, (not naming any particular author,)—for whom they say that they had once a great veneration, but think themselves obliged very solemnly to acknowledge their error, and to guard others against the like; which they do by certain reasons that I do not see the reason of. I believe uncle Josiah would not approve of their expressions, some of which are very extraordinary. I imagined that the book would have been seen by him: if not, and he has a mind to see it, I will send him mine, which Mr. Charles Wesley ordered Mr. Hutton the bookseller to present me with..... There has been a famous gentleman amongst them, Count Zinzendorf, in town for a few days: he went to Amsterdam on Tuesday last..... He is a bishop in Bohemia or Moravia; [and] is, I think, under banishment. He is a good-natured, mild, loving-tempered man. He has been in all parts to raise up a spirit of Christianity amongst such as are ignorant of it. He disapproves of Mr. Wesley's preface, at least of some strange expressions in it; though he charitably thinks that it is permitted for their humiliation."†

JOHN BYROM TO MRS. BYROM.

"June 14th, 1739.

"MR. JOHN WESLEY is come to this town from Bristol. Mr. Whitefield preaches away at Blackheath, &c.: he is the chief topic of private conversation. A book come out to-day, by one Seagrave,‡ a clergyman, in defence of the Methodists, says that Mr. Law is no Methodist. Mr. Hales here does not seem to approve of Mr. Whitefield's advancing so far. He had lords, dukes, &c., to hear him at Blackheath, who gave guineas and half-guineas for his Orphan-house.§ He does surprising things, and has a great number of followers, both curious and real. This field-preaching, they say, is got into France, as well as Germany, England, Scotland,

* "Hymns and Sacred Poems." By John and Charles Wesley, Third Edition, 1739, printed by J. Hutton, price 2s. 6d.

† It is almost amusing to observe how little the good sense of the Wesleys was esteemed by those from whom they differed on matters of Christian doctrine and experience. The Count "charitably thinks," and Byrom appears to think with him, that the expressions they did not approve of, in Mr. Wesley's preface to his Hymn-Book, were "*permitted for their humiliation!*"

‡ The Rev. Robert Seagrave published, in 1739, an "Answer to Four Sermons on the Nature, Folly, Sin, and Danger of being Righteous over-much," directed against the Methodists, by the Rev. Joseph Trapp, D.D., Rector of Harlington, Middlesex, and Vicar of the united parishes of Christ's Church and St. Leonard, Foster-Lane, London. In 1739, Dr. Trapp replied to the seven pamphlets written against another sermon he had published in opposition to the same people; and in the year following he issued a "Reply to Mr. Law's Answer to 'Righteousness over-much.'" Mr. Seagrave had already published some exceedingly liberal observations upon the conduct of the Clergy, which were peculiarly distasteful to Bishop Gibson, and to "sound Churchmen" in general.

§ Whitefield's remarkable eloquence was, perhaps, never more exemplified than when his persuasive powers drew from Benjamin Franklin's pocket the money which that clear, cool reasoner had determined not to give for the Orphan-House at Savannah. (See Southey's *Life of Wesley*.)

Wales, &c. People are more and more alarmed at the wonder of it ; but none offer to stop it, that I hear.*

"Mr. Stonehouse, of Islington, where I should have been, is married to a young lady who dined there one day that I was there. They talk variously about it ; but one can believe nothing without better authority. However, it has prevented my design of going there, who thought to have found him alone, &c. I suppose that his Journals † come to Manchester, and the new one just out, No. 3. If brother Josiah desires to hear anything of those matters, or any other, he must let me know."

1739, July, Friday, 27th.—"This morning Mr. Cossart called here, and we read a verse or two, but then began a-talking. I spoke freely about John Wesley ; and he seemed to think much in the same way with me sometimes, but thought it good that the truth should be preached if any one had the courage."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"London, Saturday night, August 4th, 1739.

"I CALLED yesterday at Mr. Bray's, brazier, about a tea-kettle. He says round ones are most commodious, not with flat tops, but raised a little.....I found Mr. Ch. Wesley there, and drank tea with him. He asked me to come on Monday morning at eight, being to go out of town, and I should see him no more. I came with him as far as Guild-Hall, in his way to Kennington-Common, where he was to go with Mr. Whitefield for the last time ; Mr. Whitefield being to go abroad on Monday. Mr. Wesley preaches at Moorfields and Kennington on Sunday morning and night. We do not agree nor differ as to matters of doctrine that I can find : nor have I any occasion to condemn him. Men are free, in point of religion, which is to be chosen ; and they may have it that will choose it. And 't is the only thing worth choosing ; and I pray God bring us all to a true sense and feeling of it in our dear Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

FROM THE JOURNAL.

1739, August 29th, Wednesday night.—"Have been with Mr. Law at five. He showed me Mr. Wesley's [letters] to him, and his answers. The first letter of John Wesley to him was of his not teaching faith in the blood of Jesus : that he [Mr. Wesley] had preached the doctrine of his [Law's] two books,‡ but found that neither his hearers nor he could follow it ; [and] that he might have been under this burden till death, had he not met with a man who had the Spirit of God,§ who bid him believe.

* And yet a writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. ix., p. 419, (1739.) says : "Dr. Stebbing has declared that the Dissenters from the Established Church should be loaded with pecuniary mulcts in this world ; and, I am afraid, was it in his power, he would — them all in the next." Dr. Stebbing charged Whitefield with gathering tumultuous assemblies, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the prejudice of families ; while his opponent affirmed that Mr. Whitefield and the generality of his hearers behaved themselves as decently and peacefully as Dr. Stebbing and the honourable Master of the Bench at Gray's Inn. (P. 415.) And yet from five to fifty thousand assembled to hear him preach in the fields, (p. 416,) apparently because he was "deny'd the pulpits." (P. 271.)

† These are, doubtless, Wesley's "Journals," and not Stonehouse's. In 1738 Wesley first published his "Journals."

‡ "Christian Perfection," and "Serious Call."

§ "I found my brother at Oxford, recovering from his pleurisy ; and with him Peter Böhler ; by whom (in the hand of the great God) I was, on Sunday, the 5th, clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.

He charged Mr. Law strongly with not directing him to this faith ; and asked, whether that man of God did not say true ;—[adding] that when he talked with him he mentioned faith, and Mr. Law was silent, and then talked of mystical matters ; that the man of God talked of faith again, and he was silent, then talked of mystical matters. How could he answer to our common Lord, that he had not told him of this faith ? Mr. Law answers upon two suppositions :—First, that he had faith, and that this was a man of God. And he submits to them in that capacity : if they should say that he corrupted every one that he spoke to, he would bow to the truth, and blindly submit to their judgment and God's mercy. But upon the second supposition, that he [Wesley] was too hasty, he tells him of his printing Kempis,* and of the *Theol. Germ.*† He desires to be sharer with Kempis in the crime, at least ; and gives a very sober and civil answer to everything. He tells him that he should have read his book upon the Sacrament, where he might have seen that his meeting with that man of God was by accident in Somerset-Gardens ; and, particularly, that he never said one word mystical or unmystical, but heard him speak, and approved of what he said. Mr. Wesley wrote again, that what he said was nothing ; that the point was faith in Christ our atonement ; that two persons were by, when Peter Böhler talked with him ;—and, in short, [adduced] nothing to excuse his condemnation of Mr. Law, but [was] quite evasive. Mr. Law would not have answered it, but for that passage of two others being by,—who, it seems, were Germans, and did not understand Latin, which Böhler and he talked. It was [in Mr. Law's opinion] one man of God telling another man of God that he [was] moved by the Spirit to lay his sins before him : and yet this was faith. He desired to be permitted to be in peace with him, as with every creature ; and that the correspondence might break off, to prevent further occasion of anger.

“Mr. Law told me of what Mr. Hutton told him, how, about three days before the writing of that letter, he had gone hastily from Mr. Hutton's, and given as a reason that they must go and save Mr. Stonehouse from Mr. Law, who was bringing him over to faith without works.....Pray God convert him [John Wesley] to a true faith indeed, that may show itself more faithful with regard to his neighbour.

“We then walked in Somerset-Gardens. Upon my mentioning Mr. Kippax's Syriac mss., and the Jacobites of Syria pretending to be disciples of St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, he told me of the mss. that he had that were found in a mountain ; and, after hinting at my incontinency ‡ in these matters, § said, that he would let me see them.

Immediately it struck into my mind, ‘Leave off preaching. How can you preach to others, who have not faith yourself?’ I asked Böhler, whether he thought I should leave it off or not. He answered, ‘By no means.’ I asked, ‘But what can I preach?’ He said, ‘Preach faith *till* you have it ; and then, *because* you have it, you will preach faith.’” (John Wesley's Journal, March 4th, 1738.)

* One of Wesley's first publications was an abridgment of the excellent treatise on the “Imitation of Christ.”

† The *Theologia Germanica*, and other Mystic writings, were first read by Wesley after his visit to Law in 1732.

‡ Law loved, as he says before, “a silent man ;” and he seems rather startled by Byrom's openness of communication.

§ The cautious jealousy of Byrom as to the authenticity of these mss. might have been well imitated in our time by certain erudite philologists, who avowed their full conviction that the marvellous calligraphy and systematic forgeries of Simonides were genuine writings !

* * * * *

"When we came to his door, and he was saying that learning had done more mischief than all other things put together, yet that it was useful, like a carpenter's business, or any other; and how Dr. Trapp would call him twenty enthusiasts for so saying; I asked him when I should see his mss., being to go soon. He said, 'How soon?' I said, 'In a fortnight, probably.' He took me up, and lent me one of them; namely, 'The Gospel according to the Arabians.' I took out a book wherein I had written a little about [the gift of tongues,] to make room for his ms. in my pocket. He said, 'Well, go on, and finish it.' I am busy now while I am here, (and I said so,) but may, perhaps, do it in the country.....He insisted upon the conditions of my having the mss.,—namely, that I should not transcribe them, nor let anybody know of them, but the matter should pass between him and me only. I said, 'So let it be. If you tell me before, I will be continent;' but that I had none to converse with, and it was a desolate condition. He said he did not know but it might proceed from a superior principle in me; from goodness, probably. He mentioned, that when our King came* I should go into orders. I said, 'Probably you think too ill and too well of me.' He said, he had conversed with clergymen, and thought he knew; that he approved of what observations I had made as yet upon the New Testament, and would have me write them all down."

Should any exception be taken to the length of these extracts, it is fair to remind the reader that they are unique in their character; being the only detailed records of familiar intercourse held by a man of eminence with the still more distinguished men who were the honoured instruments of that revival of religion which continues still to bless the British empire, and, we may add, nearly the whole of the civilized world. This paper relates entirely to the year 1789, when Methodism took its permanent form. The succeeding paper, concluding the series, will carry us on many years later.

IV. MANCHESTER.

Byrom could reckon among his friends some of the foremost men of the day. He loved and revered Sir Isaac Newton, who was President of the Royal Society when he was elected Fellow. He received letters from Dr. Cheyne, the eminent physician. He was challenged by Bishop Warburton to discuss the subject of enthusiasm, and came safe and unscathed out of the controversy with that rough and powerful antagonist. He quoted to him his own words, from the preface to the second volume of the "Divine Legation," (first edition,) as an unexpected inference from the views he entertained:—"Commend me, therefore, to those honester zealots, the Methodists, who spend all their fire against vice. It will be said, perhaps, they are mad. I believe they are. But what of that? They are honest. Zeal for fancies and opinions of our superiors is the known road to preferment; but who was ever yet so mad as to think of rising by virtue?" Byrom received letters in Latin from Count Zinzendorf, and letters in German from Jacobi. He knew Oglethorpe and Spangenberg. He visited Lady Huntingdon at

* The Pretender?

Donington-Park, and at Chelsea. He went with Dr. Doddridge, by invitation, to her house at Chelsea, where he heard George Whitefield preach to the family in the drawing-room. He afterwards dined with him there, and then accompanied him to the Tabernacle, and heard him preach to three thousand people. At his invitation he supped with "the extraordinary youth" in his own house, and was greatly pleased with his conversation. Lord Morton, a friend of the Pretender, suffered great inconvenience in France from the discovery of Byrom's shorthand writing among his papers. Byrom himself paid his respects to the Pretender when he visited Manchester, with other leading men of that town. His nephews, who joined the Pretender's forces, forfeited their lives for their treason; but the seniors appear to have been true to each other, and were never called to account.

COPY OF A SHORTHAND LETTER TO DR. HARTLEY.

[*Manchester,*] *April, 1741.*

"DEAR DOCTOR,—I thank you for your last; since the receipt of which Mr. Lloyd is come home, and Mr. Law, a Scotch gentleman, with him, who stays here during the races,* which began this day. Mr. Lloyd has sent me some proposals of the new impression, which I presume there was some reason to publish before he came out, rather than at the beginning of next winter. Mr. Weller's name is the only variation that strikes my fancy. I have received a letter from that gentleman, which I think to answer next post: he is indeed very hearty and friendly, but will have to answer querists that I cannot satisfy any further than I have endeavoured to do. I have seen the advertisement concerning my shorthand at the conclusion of the *Gazetteer*; a mistake, I presume, for the beginning of the *Gazette*. I believe that you will do everything in your power; but I beg of you not to give yourself needless trouble to induce the unwilling to favour your design.But you philosophize otherwise on the subject of volition, probably, than I do; and so let it take its fate. I am more concerned for the *avocative* of friends about it, than for any further success of a thing which I have done all I could to ripen for public service of such as are desirous of a common method of shorthand: but, to take a comparison from the hurries here, I am apprehensive my horse will be distanced in the race by my being but a poor jockey, whereas he did well enough for my own riding a journey now and then. I have designed one [a journey] to London often, and intend it at the beginning of next winter; but do not purpose to stay there longer than the pleasure of seeing you all requires. Please to thank our friend Mr. Tighe for me, and Lord Godolphin.† Mr. Weston, I imagine, will resent your advertisement, and caution the public against imposition. Mr. Houghton will be glad to have his book again; it will probably be of

* The horse-races were held annually at Whitsuntide on Kersal-Moor, about three miles north-west of Manchester; but have been discontinued in that neighbourhood during the last few years. The following is copied from a placard of the period:—"Manchester Races. On Monday, 29th September, 1760, will be run for on Kersal-Moor, near Manchester, a free purse of Gs.50, &c. On Tuesday, the 30th, ■ free purse of Gs.50. On Wednesday, 1st October, a free purse of Gs.50. Certain conditions—weight of riders—age and pedigree of horses, &c.—required. Stewards, John Gore Booth, Esq., Thomas Barlow, Esq."—These races were long opposed by Dr. Byrom, on moral and religious grounds.

† Francis, second Earl of Godolphin, created Baron Godolphin of Helstone in 1735; on whose death, in 1768, the barony devolved upon his first cousin, Francis, son of Dr. Godolphin, Dean of St. Paul's; and the other titles expired.

more use to him than [to] the gentleman who has it. Mr. Lloyd says that you have read Mr. Whitefield's letter about predestination, &c., in answer to Mr. Wesley, and think it a shrewd thing : to me it appears to be a thorough mistake of St. Paul's words, who was far from a predestinarian. But I imagine that [they] have different constructions on the same word ; or else such a contradiction to the general assertion of the whole Bible—namely, that grace and salvation are offered and intended to all men—could never obtain among divines, nor a fatal notion of necessity among philosophers. But where am I wandering from the post-house? Good-morrow ; service to Mrs. Hartley.

“ Yours,

“ J. B.”

The exact date when Byrom came into possession of the family property, and was therefore no longer dependent on the success of his teaching of shorthand, does not appear. It is evident, however, from the tone of the preceding letter to the celebrated metaphysician, Dr. Hartley, Incumbent of Illingworth, in the parish of Halifax, that he was now in easier circumstances than at any former period since his marriage. In May of the same year, 1741, he wrote to the Royal Society, of which he had been elected Fellow in 1724, that he was ready to discharge the bond he had given to the Society—no doubt, for the fees of his membership : an incident which goes to confirm the supposition that he was no longer straitened for money. Subsequently to this date his visits to London were less frequent than they had been for many years before, and were shorter in their duration.

But we find him in London during March, 1742, preparing to get his Shorthand Bill through Parliament, in which he was successful, without any expense to himself ; and also attending to matters connected with the local interests of the town of Manchester.

JOHN BYROM TO MRS. BREARCLIFFE, MANCHESTER.

“ *London, March 25th, 1742.*

“ DEAR SISTER,—I received yours yesterday, for which I thank you, and for the account that all friends are well ; to whom I am obliged for good wishes, let success go how it will. As to honest friend Spanaule, is it myself or Mr. Law that he means that he had not heard from ?—because it was Mr. Law that he wanted to have write to him to say somewhat, I suppose, about the papers which he had sent to him for his inspection. I saw Mr. Law soon after the receipt of his to me, which I showed him, and he said that he should write to him himself. However, if he means me also, I will write too : for I have a respect for a man that honestly understands a valuable author, though never so difficult to myself. Jacob Behmen I believe to be such a one, but hardly that his books will become fashionable in my time, any more than Mr. Law's, who is to me more intelligible than any other English writer that I recollect. I don't mean that sort of intelligibility by which divers authors may be readily enough understood, but when they are they do not reach one's purpose ; (for a long story may be plain enough, and true into the bargain, and yet give one no great satisfaction ;) but I mean intelligible in this sense, that one may understand, and see, and feel that deep, solid, and comfortable truths are conveyed in a short compass of language ; which, though not so obvious when one makes the fashionable way of writing the measure, yet, if nature, truth, the Bible, common sense, one's

own heart, or anything real and inward be consulted, are indeed very easy to be understood, by some at least who do not affect to gaze at old truth in new words, (or words renewed that may have been forgot,) as if they knew her not. But I shall be obscure myself if I ramble thus; or, if my letter be never so intelligible, the post will not take it; for 'tis about eleven o'clock, and I am just come from the coffee-house with Mr. Lloyd to his lodgings, and would not omit to thank you for writing and sending the account of the books, whereof there are three that I have not: namely, 1, that of the Incarnation; 2, of Election and Predestination; 3, that of the Six Points: and if nobody wants 'em, I would have 'em if sold separate, or, if it be any service to Mr. Span., would take 'em all; or else, as I have the rest, I should hinder others. Mr. Lloyd urges me to finish for fear of being too late; so my dear love and service to all of you and Dolly at Hal.[ifax], &c. If Mr. Hoole has a mind to give his thoughts on this book of Mr. Law's, I should be glad to hear 'em, and perhaps get some solution of difficulties from the author himself. Good-night, my dear sister.

"I am your affectionate brother and servant,

"J. BYROM."

1742, June 16th.—"Yesterday my scholar, Mr. Erskine, Member of Parliament, took me to hear Mr. Spangenberg, a chief man among the Moravian Brethren, who preached at a place in Fetter-Lane, where I had never been before. I wish we had many such preachers in our church: we should not [then] hear it observed, that Christian divines preach without one word of Jesus Christ." *

On the 16th of June the Royal assent was given to the Shorthand Bill. "The London Gazette" has the following:—

"Westminster, June 16. His Majesty [George II.] came this day to the House of Peers; and being in his Royal Robes, seated on the Throne with the usual solemnity, Sir Charles Dalton, Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod, was sent with a message from His Majesty to the House of Commons, commanding their attendance in the House of Peers: The Commons being come hither accordingly, His Majesty was pleased to give the Royal Assent to (among others) *An Act for securing to John Byrom, Master of Arts, the sole Right of publishing, for a certain Term of Years, the Art and Method of Short-Hand invented by him.*"—The term of years was twenty-one; and the penalty, one hundred pounds.

This Act was the crowning reward of many anxieties, and a national testimony to the merits of the man and his system. Singular as the Act is, when read *in extenso*, it is so in nothing more than in the fact that it seems to have been obtained without cost; even "the clerk of the House of Lords being with him again," not with a long bill of costs, but to learn his system of shorthand. Manchester cannot procure Acts of Parliament on such terms in the present day!

July 7th.—"To Mr. Jacobi;† and went with him to Fetter-Lane, where Mr. Delamotte read the story of the Eunuch and St. Philip, and then preached."

* The late Rev. P. La Trobe, in his preface to the Life of August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Bishop of the Church of the United Brethren, (London, 1838,) observes, that "with the exception of Count Zinzendorf himself, no name is more distinguished than that of Spangenberg in the records of the United Brethren's Church, and none more highly revered by its members."

† John Christian Jacobi, who corresponded with Byrom on religious topics in the German language.

1743, Sept. 11th, John Spanaule, the pious Mystic, writes to Byrom : " Please to tell your sister, all the Moravians are gone from the new house where she called, and Mr. Wesley's party chiefly prevails."

1744. In January Byrom made a journey from Manchester to Halifax, over Blackstone-Edge. In a letter to Mrs. Byrom he says :—" Mr. Hutchins, my shorthand scholar, poor Kinchen's curate, and Mr. Okenhausen, a German Moravian Brother whom I had seen at Hutton's, drank tea and supped with us ; and we discoursed upon their subjects, in which the German seemed to be more experienced than the others. The parson of the parish where Mr. O. lives, though wont, he says, to be very civil, has taken upon himself to excommunicate all such of his flock as go to hear the Brethren preach ; among them, the wife of the churchwarden. None who are directed by the Brethren preach in the fields : approved laymen may preach within doors. Mr. Ingham does it no more, nor David Taylor, your Salford preacher. Mr. Hutchins has been about Ashton, by request of some of Taylor's hearers. John Nelson first invited Mr. Wesley into Yorkshire. They think Mr. Whitefield begins to scruple his own doctrines of predestination, which he has promised their Brother Spangenberg not to preach on ; and would, I apprehend, have come to them [the Moravians] but from the fear of being told to forbear preaching at all for awhile. This is all the news I can tell thee."

Saturday, Jan. 22d.—" Set out from Halifax, and about noon came to Birstal. Called on Mr. Coleby, with whom we talked about Methodists, Wesley, John Nelson, Moravians ;—thence to Mill-bridge, to John Spanaule's. Mrs. More showed us Mr. Frere's pictures. Their son came to ask us to breakfast, which we excused. He sat with us a little, and told us of his brothers turning Methodists or Moravians ; [as, also,] that his mother was born a Quaker."

Saturday, 28th. York.—" Mr. Pollard, a briskish old man, would not for his houseful of gold let Mr. Ingham preach in his church ; and, if Wesley were there, would smite him."

1744. October 8th. Donington-Park. (Lady Huntingdon's residence.)—" Here is no company but two ladies. We are very freely and courteously entertained. Mrs. Edwin, a fine singer, has been singing some hymns to us. Lady Huntingdon has had a letter this morning from Mr. Wesley, with the case of John Nelson enclosed, written by Nelson himself, who is released" [after having been impressed as a private soldier, while preaching] " by an order from Lord Stair, at Lady Huntingdon's request."

17th.—" Mr. Charles Wesley has been at Donington, which occasioned our stay a day or two longer."

In the year 1745 the Pretender's forces took possession of Manchester ; in little less than a fortnight they retired, after having demanded a contribution of £5,000 for the insolence of the mob. A list still extant shows that little more than one half was raised, the sum actually paid being £2,504. 13s. Dr. Byrom's eldest daughter has left a journal of the events of those days, containing many curious particulars, of which good use may be made when the history of England shall again be written. The young lady was an admirer of the Prince. Friday, Nov. 29th, she says :—" Eleven o'clock we went to the Cross ; about three o'clock the Prince and the main body came. The Prince went straight to Mr. Dickenson's, where

he lodges ; * the Duke of Athol at Mr. Mursden's ; and the Duke of Perth at Gartside's. The bells rung, and P. Cotterel made a bonfire. All the town was illuminated,—every house, except Mr. Dickenson's. My papa, mamma, and sister, and my uncle, and I, walked up and down to see it. About four o'clock the King was proclaimed ; the mob shouted very cleverly ; and then we went up to see my aunt Brearcliffe, and stayed till eleven o'clock, making St. Andrew's crosses for them. We sat up making till two o'clock.

“Saturday, 30th, St. Andrew's day.—More crosses making till twelve o'clock ; then I dressed me up in my white gown,” (it is quite clear that this young lady was a sad Jacobite,) “and went up to my aunt Brearcliffe's, and an officer called on us to go and see the Prince. We went to Mr. Fletcher's, and saw him get on horseback ; and a noble sight it is. I would not have missed it for a great deal of money. When he rid out of the court, he was received with as much joy and shouting almost as if he had been king without any dispute ; indeed, I think scarce anybody that saw him could dispute it. As soon as he was gone, the officer and we went to prayers at the old church at two o'clock by their orders. Mr. Sprigley read prayers, and prayed for the King and Prince of Wales, and named no names.—Went up to Mr. Fletcher's ; stayed there till the Prince was at supper.—Secretary Murray came to let us know that the Prince was at leisure ; so we were all introduced, and had the honour to kiss his hand. My papa was fetched prisoner, (playfully, by the ladies,) to do the same, as was Dr. Deacon ; Mr. Cattell and Mr. Clayton did it without ; the latter said grace for him.”

The authority to which we have been mainly indebted, throughout these papers, observes :—“An artist, especially if he has any portion of ancient enthusiasm in his composition, need seek no better subject for a grand historical picture than the group here assembled. It happens, too, that portraits exist of most of the parties. The Prince, Byrom, Deacon, Cattell, Clayton, and Beppy herself, are all in existence, delineated to the life in Kersal-Cell. One sees the sharp eye of Deacon, and the tall benignant form of Byrom, pouring secret but hearty blessings on the head of the young adventurer. Has Manchester no artist that will try, for once, to be original?”

In May, 1748, Byrom was again in London, associating occasionally with the Methodists. He says :—“I dined yesterday with Col. Gumley and Ch. Wesley, and went with them to the Methodist church. English Communion Prayers ; he preached. I met my old scholar Mr. Erskine there, and Lord Pitsligo's son.....Mr. Whitefield is come to town.”

July.—“I heard Mr. Whitefield preach in Moorfields, or rather did not hear him,—for the crowd, and sun and wind, were too great.”

August.—“I was obliged by promise to go with Dr. Doddridge, a famous

* Sixty years ago Mr. Dickenson's house at the top of Market-street, Manchester, might be seen as it was left by the Pretender in 1745. There was a court-yard in front, shut out from the street by large iron gates, which were always closed. The tradition was, that, when the Pretender took his departure, the owner of the house closed the gates, and declared they should never again be opened “until the King” (the Pretender) “got his own.” The commercial prosperity of Manchester forced open those gates, and changed the mansion—the “Palace,” as it was called—to an inn, now known as the “Palace Inn.” The quiet residences of Piccadilly, of Mosley-street, and of King-street, Manchester, have during the last sixty years undergone as complete a change as that of the “Palace” itself.

Dissenting teacher at Northampton, last Monday, to Lady Huntingdon's at Chelsea. He called upon me, and we went by water, and were to have come back in the same boat ; but Lady Huntingdon invited me to stay to dinner, and so I did. We found my friend Charles Stanhope there, (Secretary to the Treasury,) talking with Mr. Whitefield. When Mr. Stanhope and Dr. Doddridge were gone, Mr. Whitefield preached a sermon to the family, and stayed dinner, with Mrs. Edwin, the lady that was at Donington-Park when I made my visit there, and one Colonel Gumley, a convert to the Wesleys, and Mr. Bateman, parson of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, who, from a great enemy, is likewise come over to them, and preaches at their chapel, and they at his church.—I went on with Mr. Whitefield to his Tabernacle, where he had appointed to preach, but had like to have been too late, for another preacher was in the pulpit. But, [this preacher] not having ended his prayer, Mr. Whitefield went up and gave them a sermon. He got me a seat just behind him, and afterwards invited me to supper in his apartments, which are just by ; and the other preacher, and a gentleman of his acquaintance, supped with us. And so I had an opportunity of talking with this remarkable youth ; and a very extraordinary one he is. His Tabernacle will hold three thousand people, and it seemed to be quite full. He told Ch. St. that there were many weak things in his journals, which want of experience had occasioned ; but he was not ashamed to learn, or to confess his mistakes. He inquired after Mr. Clayton."

Mr. Francis Okeley's letter to Byrom, describing a tour he took with Mr. Wesley in England and in Ireland, indicates the spirit with which the work of the latter was carried on in Manchester, Bolton, Liverpool, on board ship, in Dublin, and elsewhere.

MR. FRANCIS OKELEY TO JOHN BYROM.

"Dublin, April 9th, 1758.

"DEAR SIR,—It is, I assure you, with pleasure that I reflect upon the short visit I made you at Manchester ; and I have only been sorry that the shortness of my time would not allow me to stay longer with you. I did actually stay, as it was, beyond the extent of my time : for, at my return to Mr. Wesley, I found he had already dined, and was just ready to take horse for Bolton. I gave your love to him as you desired, and he was glad I had been to see you : for, notwithstanding any little differences in opinion, I find he loves you sincerely, which I was glad to see.

"The evening after I left you, Mr. W. preached to a numerous auditory at Bolton, as he did again in his usual way at five o'clock the next morning ; and both times, I trust, not ineffectually. We breakfasted that day with Dr. Rogers, of Bolton ; who, I find, has wrote a tract against the Newtonian philosophy,—with what merit, I am unable to determine : I only thanked God that our salvation and well-being was not dependent on any precarious system whatsoever.—We reached Liverpool the same day, and had a very agreeable journey, during which Mr. W. and I had a good deal of conversation concerning some appearances in the kingdom of God in our day. During our stay at Liverpool, (which was ten days,) he preached morning and evening, as usual, to crowded auditories, consisting of all sorts, especially in the evenings at seven o'clock. There is here a large, commodious room, built for the use of the Methodists, but not quite finished. Here, at the preaching, I accidentally met with my friend Mr. Longworth,

who was glad to see me again. But one very agreeable circumstance of our stay here was, that by the means of one Mr. Newton, at whose house I dined with Mr. Wesley, I got acquainted with Mr. Peter Whitefield, of whom I had read in one of your Manchester newspapers when I lived at Dukinfield, but little thought of ever coming into his company. I think this gentleman is not only a profound scholar, and well acquainted with the learned languages, but an honest and sincere searcher after truth, and not ashamed to countenance it, (as his behaviour toward us attested sufficiently,) so far as he thinks he sees it in any person.

"I know, dear Sir, that I may take the liberty of speaking freely with you. What a pity, methinks, it is, that you, a gentleman of such good natural and acquired abilities, who have such a love for that which is good and amiable wheresoever you meet with it,—you, who have so much leisure and influence,—are not proportionately desirous of becoming more and more inwardly and experimentally acquainted with it in your own soul, and more active in the immediate cause of God. I assure you, it would be a great blessing to your own heart, and it would greatly tend to cure and rectify your closet-reflections upon the mistakes and inconsistencies of those who are so employed. For I need not tell you, that, as it is much easier to pull down than to build up, so it is much easier also to spy faults in others than to mend them in ourselves. This I do not say because I would accuse you of being peculiarly guilty of this, but only as being a fault we are all liable to, and as it occurred in the course of my writing. I am, for my part, far from censuring any who may think it their duty to live to God in a kind of recluse life. But yet I think it must be owned, that we ought to thank God also for those who think it their duty to act more extensively for His cause upon the public theatre of the world. I am conscious to myself that I am, and have hitherto been, no remarkable hero in this way : but I honour those who are [such], and wish for grace to imitate them in all their real apostolical power as the witnesses of God. I believe I have told you, before now, that to become a true witness for God, and of the sufferings of Jesus, both in season and out of season, in public and from house to house, through honour and dishonour, is my greatest ambition. And I pray the Lord not to let me depart hence till mine eyes have fully seen, and [my tongue has] more faithfully published, the salvation of God. I would not detract in the least from orthodoxy of opinion, and the common, unblamable Christian behaviour : they are very good, nay, necessary in their places. But I am satisfied there is a being *endued with power from on high*, which must be superadded, if we are in the number of those who are said to overcome the accuser of the brethren by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony ; and not to love their lives unto the death. And I am positively sure that such as these were never more wanted than in our days. May God send them out into His harvest, in the number, manner, and time that best pleases Him !

"Dear Sir, let me speak out and plainly with you. I trust you will take it as it is designed, and as it is,—namely, the pure, artless overflowing of my own heart toward you. From the conversation we have occasionally had together, I fear two ideas are hurtful to you ; and I pray God you may examine your own heart, how far my fears are grounded or not. I know you have a sense of your own depravity : but, dear Sir, does not your expectation of a sort of *purgatory* state *out of the body* render you too indifferent about using duly the more certain and far less dangerous remedies the Gospel supplies against it here ? May the light of eternal truth search

your heart in this respect! Again: How true and amiable soever the *parental* idea of the Godhead's love may be, in itself, *et suppositis supponendis*, yet, dear Sir, may you not, by supposing no wrath in God, inadvertently suppress the awakening power of God within your own soul, to the total hindrance of any real spiritual progress in the inward and divine life? Indeed, this controversy seems to be a nicety, like that in philosophy, Whether heat be in us, or in the fire: and yet, as the fire will surely burn us if we come too near it, so the scriptural wrath of God, [which] we fear in our own consciences, will be terrible beyond all imagination to us, if we do not suffer His Spirit to awaken our hearts, and bring us to the repentance not to be repented of. O, how deep are the wiles of him who is said to be the deceiver of the whole world! May the merciful and faithful God preserve us, and bring us out of all his snares!

"Dear Sir, you will not, I hope, think me proud and assuming, because I write in such a manner to you. I do it out of a sincere love and goodwill which I bear you; and, as I deal plainly with you, shall be thankful to be dealt with again in the same way, if you have seen or apprehended anything of the like kind in me.

"But I have made a long digression, by occasion of the mention of Mr. P. Whitefield. We spoke heartily together; and by his desiring me to write to him, and otherwise, I found it was not unacceptable.—But to proceed. I think I may say we had one of the most agreeable voyages from Liverpool to Dublin that could be wished. Ship, captain, passengers, as agreeable as could be expected; and a smooth sea, and a clear, serene sky, throughout. Mr. Wesley preached on the quarter-deck to all in the ship, between Penmaen-Mawr hills and Holyhead. They were attentive, serious, and satisfied. In a word, we did and said what we pleased; which was, I believe, usefully improved. We were from Tuesday noon, the 28th March, till Friday at the same time, before we landed in Dublin.

"Great numbers attend the preaching with attention and seriousness. By visiting from house to house with Mr. Wesley, I got acquainted with many agreeable and pretty people. I have been surprised to find Dublin every way exceeding my expectations. Surely it is not right for our side of the water to overvalue themselves and undervalue others so much. I only wish their divine were equal to their human glory.

"The 24th April, God willing, Mr. Wesley sets out upon his tour through this kingdom; and I am to go with him in the company. I should be highly pleased with a letter from my much-esteemed friend Dr. Byrom, which will be sure to meet me if directed to be left at the New Room, in the Whitefriars-street, Dublin. I beg to be remembered occasionally to the gentleman, your son-in-law, who came in when I was last with you. He has, I believe, a good disposition for God, as well as good abilities. May he only prize the one as they help the other forward! I particularly desire my respects to your spouse, and the young gentlewomen your daughters.—I am, dear Sir, with much respect, yours most affectionately,

"FRANCIS OKELEY.

"P.S.—Believe me that this whole letter is written from the pure motion of my own heart. And I cannot refrain from telling you, that your friendly admonitions, not implicitly to entangle myself, more than conviction of the truth will bear me out in, with Mr. W. and his people, are not lost upon me. All I can say is this, I was not easy in my heart among the Brethren, nor in the state of total inactivity I retired into for some time; and, as I could not but respect Mr. W. as one of the most practical of the awakened

ministers I knew, I ventured in God's name to travel this journey with him. And I trust I have a token from God, that I am so far in His way.

"To Dr. Byrom, Manchester."

The following account of Mr. Wesley's last visit to Dr. Byrom, in company with Mr. Philips, of Manchester, is highly characteristic of all the parties.

BYROM'S ACCOUNT OF MR. WESLEY'S VISIT TO HIM IN MANCHESTER.

(From the Shorthand.)

"April 2d, 1761.

"MR. JOHN WESLEY and Mr. Philips called here about ten o'clock, and stayed till about twelve. He said, that Mr. Okeley was well in health at Bedford with the Moravians, and was the teacher of the children; * that he had his wife and three children there,—to which he seemed to lay the reason of his return thither; that he had seen him lately, and that he had told him he loved him. His brother, Charles Wesley, he said, was ill at Bristol or Bath: [as, also,] that Lady Huntingdon was ill, and a more charming woman than ever; and that she is the lady to whom Mr. Law wrote the letters in his book. We had again the talk about his letter to Mr. Law, but to no other effect than two years ago. I asked if the Preface against the Mystics in his first Hymn-Book was continued; and he said that he knew of no alteration. I said, at last, if he would but let me know if ever he changed his mind, I would say no more upon the subject. I mentioned the six men who had been read out of his Society for reading Jacob Behmen and Mr. Law; as one of them had told me, and had desired me to speak to him last year, but I had not then the pleasure of seeing him. He appeared to be warm on that article; said, when I mentioned their being turned out for reading, 'That was because they told me lies.' I asked, Was there any such paper read? but he cut the matter short, by saying that 'it signified nothing what had been done by others, for he had spoken to every one of them in particular, and to all of them together, and they would not comply; and he rejected them, not for reading the books, which was as indifferent as the colour of their hair; but, if they would thrust their hair into other people's eyes, and trouble them with their notions, *that* was his reason.'

"Mr. Philips, who was silent mostly, said that the reading against them was an indiscreet thing. Mr. Wesley did not say anything of that, but put the matter somehow, very magisterially, upon his own authority: so that I used the expression of *Pope John* to him, and *Your Holiness*; and thought him full hard enough upon the men, that they must not speak their sentiments. For, what if others began first? But he was very decisive in this case, from their own determination. He said Mr. Berridge's† letters were not sent to Mr. Martin of Gotham, but to one Mr. Pointer, a strange and wild man, who exposed them. Upon my mentioning Mr. Law's book about it, he said that they wanted him to write an answer, but he had better business. I said I thought he had a juster provocation to it than he had to write his letter to Mr. Law, because Methodism itself was attacked by it. He said that he had answered Mr. Law in the newspapers; and I said, 'But how? what argument have you produced?' He said, 'I do not treat him with contempt, as he does me.' I said, 'Your treatment of him is very

* Of the children, *i. e.*, of the Moravian Society there established.

† This singular man was popularly called "the spiritual comet."

strange, making him a Deist, to deny God's power, justice,' &c. And so we talked of wrath again, which, I said, he confounded with justice, which was a good thing, but wrath an evil: which he would not allow.

"I asked his opinion about what was called the day of grace being over. He said, he believed it might be, but had never met with any instances but one,—in a man that was to be executed, whom he found to be perfectly unconcerned, though he knew he was going to be with devils.....I asked *who* the Mystic was that said 'marriage was a licensed whoredom.' He said it was Mercet, whose works, I understood him to say, were printed in Scotland; but he was going to Edinburgh, and should know. I said it seemed to me that the Deists in their way, and the Methodists in their way, and so others, denied inspiration since the apostles. I desired him to name any one, [any instance to the contrary,]—for his being for the Bible only was like as if Mr. Madan,* when he was in the law, should cry, 'My Lord, I am for the Act of Parliament.' He said, that all good authors might be [in a sense] inspired, but there was none but who mixed their own spirit; that Thomas à Kempis was next to the Bible, but in him there was transubstantiation and purgatory; and I could not get the smallest entire book that was quite through inspired. This Mr. Madan, he said, was a famous mimic, and came to hear him in order to take him off, but was himself taken off his Deism;—that his father, the colonel, was dead, and had left him £1,800 a year;—that he had a chapel of his own in some street; could not get ordained by the Bishop of London, under pretence of want of a title; but was ordained by the Bishop of Winchester,† who at eighty-three was hearty;—that Madan, Romaine, &c., were Half-Regulares; for he divided them into Regulars, Half-Regulars, and Irregulars;—that Romaine had not got a living, as I had been told;—that Lord Dartmouth‡ had been turned by Mr. Walker, of Truro;—that Mr. Milner§ was very well, and went on very well at his own curacy; that he had had a letter from Mr. Perronet§ lately, and he was very well, and more discreet (by his account) than I seemed to think him when Mr. Philips§ came to me with his letter to be printed here.....He said, that Mr. Spangenberg, as well as Count Zinzendorf, was dead;—that he had sent to the Moravians to propose a collection, but had had no answer; and, speaking of it once to Mr. Okeley,|| he was told that implicit obedience to the Count was an article that would not be dispensed with. He said, that Mr. Hervey¶ had left Cudworth, of whom he was quite fond; that Cudworth was a follower of Mr. Whitefield, (just

* The Rev. Martin Madan, B.A., author of "A Full and Compleat Answer to the capital Errors contained in the Writings of the late Rev. William Law, M.A." He was chaplain to the Lock Hospital, and once known by a singular work, bearing title, "Thelyphthora." *Ob.* 1790, *æt.* 64.

† Hoadley. Born, 1676; died, 1761, *æt.* 85.

‡ William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth. Born, 1731; married, 1755; died, 1801. He was the friend of Walker, John Newton, and other good men of the same school.

§ These individuals were all distinguished followers of the Wesleys, although some of them retained their position in the English Church.

|| Francis Okeley, a learned but enthusiastic divine, who died at Bedford, 1794. He published, among other works, (a list of which will be seen in Watt's *Bibl. Brit.*.) "Memoirs of Jacob Behmen," 1780, 12mo.

¶ Rev. James Hervey, B.A., Vicar of Weston-Favell, author of the once well-known "Meditations," "Theron and Aspasio," &c. Byrom, after reading the latter work, wrote some poetical "Thoughts on Imputed Righteousness." Hervey died, 1758, in his forty-fourth year.

dead,*) and would be a preacher with him ; not liked by Whitefield ; set up for himself and Antinomianism ;—that *Nathaniel Ship* was [a character in] a piece by Foote ; †—that the polyglot pamphlet which I showed him might be written by Sandeman or Glass ; ‡—that the Irish Archdeacon who is here [Mr. G-l-d-n-y] had invited him to preach in Ireland ;—and particulars that I do not recollect. But, upon my saying that his words, (namely, that ‘opinions were a small part, if any, of religion,’) which had been taken notice of by Warburton and Green, could not be defended but by a Mystic manner, he said that I should do the Archdeacon good, he thought, if I were to talk with him : but why, I know not ; for I forgot to mention the Hutchinsonian notions, of which I am told that gentleman is fond.” §

In Mr. Wesley’s Journal, (a work which becomes more interesting year by year,) we find a notice of the Rev. John Newton,|| which may be cited with much appropriateness in connexion with Byrom’s references to the same excellent man.

“1760. March. Thur. 13.—We rode over the mountains, [from Leeds,] through furious wind and rain, which was ready to overthrow both man and

* He died of asthma, September 30th, 1770, in his fifty-sixth year.

† Samuel Foote, Esq., the eminent writer and actor in comedy, opened the Hay-market theatre, in 1747, with a sort of drama, called “The Diversions of the Morning,” which contained a burlesque upon well-known characters in re’ life ; his amazing powers of imitating the manner and voice of individuals attracting large crowds. “An Auction of Pictures,” was another piece of the same kind, full of personalities, vivacity, and humour. Wesley and Whitefield both fell under Foote’s satirical lash ; and Dr. Johnson pronounced his wit “irresistible.” Foote died in 1777.

‡ Both Scotch ministers, and the founders of sects bearing their names, although their disciples are now few in number. The Rev. Robert Sandeman married the daughter of the Rev. John Glass, and their religious notions were very similar. They wrote a large number of controversial tracts, now forgotten ; and Sandeman addressed a series of Letters to Hervey on his “Theron and Aspasio.”

§ These memoranda are valuable, as showing the relations in which Byrom stood to Wesley ; on which point there have been different opinions.

|| The Rev. John Newton was ordained Curate of Olney in 1764, and died rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, December 31st, 1807, *æt.* 82. His life was varied and eventful : for he wished it to be recorded in his epitaph, that he had been “once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa ; but by the rich mercy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ [had been] preserved, restored, pardoned, and appointed to preach the faith he had long laboured to destroy.” In the “Authentic Narrative of his Life,” first published in February, 1764, he says that his first thought was to join the Dissenters, from a presumption that he could not honestly make the required subscriptions ; but Mr. C. [Cadogan] moderated his scruples ; and, preferring the Established Church in some other respects, he solicited ordination in 1758, but was refused. In his “Apologia, or Four Letters to a Minister of an Independent Church,” he observes : “My first overtures were to the Dissenters ; and, had not the providence of God remarkably interposed to prevent it, I should probably have been a brother with you in every sense. But my designs were overruled.....Delays and disappointments afforded me time to think and judge for myself ; and, the more I considered the point, the more my scruples against conformity gave way.....And I seriously assure you, that, though I took this step [of being Episcopally ordained] with a firm persuasion that it was right, I did not at that time see so many reasons to justify my choice, nor perhaps any one reason in so strong a light, as I have since. And, far from regretting my conduct for a single hour, I have been more satisfied with it from year to year.” (Works, p. 382.) It is somewhat remarkable, that in the “Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton,” prefixed to his collected Works, there is no reference to his labours at Warwick or elsewhere among the Dissenters. The biographer merely observes, that “it seems Mr. Newton had made some small attempts at Liverpool in a way of preaching or expounding, and many wished him to engage more at large in ministerial employment.”

beast. However, in the afternoon we came well to Manchester. On Friday, the 14th, being the National Fast-day, we had service at five, at seven, and at five in the evening; but I did not observe here anything of that solemnity with which the public fasts are observed in London. I was much out of order on Saturday, and not well on Sunday. However, having appointed to preach in Stockport at noon, I determined not to break my word. As it rained, our friends provided a post-chaise. When we were gone half a mile, one of the horses began to kick and rear, and would go no further; so we got out, and walked on: but another driver brought the chaise after, and carried me to Stockport. A large congregation was waiting, and received the word with all readiness of mind. For some years the seed seemed to be here sown in vain; but at length it yields a good increase.

"On the following days I preached in several neighbouring towns, and on Wednesday evening at Liverpool. Thursday, 20. I had a good deal of conversation with Mr. N——n [Newton]. His case is very peculiar. Our Church requires that clergymen should be men of learning, and, to this end, have an University education. But how many have an University education, and yet no learning at all? Yet these men are ordained! Meantime, one of eminent learning, as well as unblamable behaviour, cannot be ordained *because he was not at the University!* What a mere farce is this! Who would believe that any Christian bishop would stoop to so poor an evasion?"

FROM DR. BYROM'S SHORTHAND.

"Tuesday, April 20th, 1762.—This afternoon Mr. Newton from Liverpool called upon me, and brought a small letter from Mr. Richard Houghton, and said that he had been at Warwick, and had been preacher some weeks to an Anabaptist or Independent congregation; that they had had some differences, not about doctrine, but maintenance; that two of them had come to invite him thither again, and he had given the Collector* notice that he would resign his place in the Custom-House on some Tuesday: but, on the Sunday before, he had information that his chief friend was grown cool about his coming. He came here upon account of the opening of the new meeting [house] at the upper end of this croft to-morrow, and to see some ministers and friends with whom he was acquainted, and to show them specimens of his English Dictionary of Greek words,† of which he left with me a paper book of forty-seven leaves, beginning with ἐλπίς, *to hope*, &c.; at the end of which, at the bottom, '*Plus ultra, Domine, progrediar, lumen Tu concede favens. Totum muneris hoc tui est, et sine tuâ ope cor et calamus pariter elanguescerent.*'

"Mr. Houghton calls him a very well disposed man, strongly attached to the Calvinistic system; [adding] that he professes a great veneration for Mr. Law, but ingenuously owns that he cannot fathom his depths. 'I have

* "The Collector" of the Customs, Mr. Newton being at this time a tide-surveyor in the port of Liverpool: a place procured for him by Mr. Manesty. (Memoirs, p. 38.)

† The "Dictionary" never saw the light; and Eyrom's estimate of its merit was, doubtless, correct. Newton published, whilst a layman in Liverpool, a volume of sermons, dated January 1st, 1760; and in 1762 his "Omicron," to which his letters signed "Vigil," were afterwards annexed: so that at this time, as a man holding strong opinions, and of remarkable character, he was not likely to be undervalued or overlooked by one whose disposition always led him to take an interest in such individuals. Byrom evidently approved of the Liverpool sermons.

had,' says he, 'frequent conversations with him; and he always argues with fairness and candour, and seems desirous for the truth for its own sake.'

"His Dictionary seemed to be laborious, but not particularly extraordinary. Nor does he understand Hebrew; nor has he read any Greek authors but the New Testament and Septuagint, except some pages of Xenophon; but thinks he can trust others in that matter."

JOHN NEWTON TO MR. HOUGHTON.

"*Edmund-street, November 18th, 1762.*

"SIR,—This accompanies the account of the Society you desired, which I received by post on Sunday evening.....I shall be glad if the scheme meet with your approbation. The subscription is not dignified with so many titles of honour as the corporate Societies; but in this respect, perhaps, it has the advantage,—that the greater part of them are truly spiritual persons, who endeavour to advance the work, not only with their money, but by their example and prayers. I do not mean to insinuate that there are not many such in the other Societies; but in all undertakings that have a sanction from names and powers of great estimation in the world, there will be too many who engage from inferior and unworthy motives, and who, like a dead weight, will in some degree weaken the success of the design.

"I beg, Sir, you will present my sincere respects to Dr. Byrom. I should have been glad to have waited upon him while you are at Manchester, but opportunity is wanting. If you have taken Edwards's book * with you, I hope that it may not be to the disadvantage of my favourite author. In that performance he appears a dry metaphysician; but this was not his usual way of writing. I know no man more obvious and experimental in the other treatises of his publishing which have come to my perusal. But his Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will was wrote *ad hominem*, against a set of writers who by subtile distinctions and fine-spun reasonings, while they professed to recommend the *τὸ καλὸν* of virtue, almost undermined the foundations upon which alone it stands. To sweep away their cobwebs was his principal design; though he incidentally treats of the point between the doctor and me, and, I think, plainly shows that when we attempt from the analogy of our own ideas to determine absolutely how the Almighty should act, or conclude that whatever is harsh, difficult, or perhaps absurd, to us, must necessarily be so in itself, we may easily go too far. For my own part, I endeavour to retain the workings of my mind, upon matters that are too high for me, within these two principles: 1. That the Judge of all the earth will do right. 2. That a period is coming when this shall be confessed and known by all His intelligent creatures. I believe that man is justly chargeable for his own evil. God cannot be the author of evil, any more than the rays of the sun can turn water into ice, or day into night. Yet, unless He did more for some than for others, I am persuaded we should all be alike. If, without His grace striving against and overpowering my obstinacy, I had been a blasphemer to this hour,—if this grace, which saved me, is not afforded to some others who equally need it,—it seems to me that I have been peculiarly favoured; and indeed I would

* Jonathan Edwards's famous "Inquiry into the modern prevailing Notion of that Freedom of the Will which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency," first published in 1754.

rather admire at it, than dispute about it. And, after all, what harm can it do either to myself or to others, that I choose to ascribe the happy change I experience rather to His goodness than to my own ?

“ When the doctor has done with the book, I would be obliged to him, if he pleases, to let a servant leave it for Mr. Warhurst at Mr. Clegg’s in Turner-street. This gentleman is minister of the Independent chapel, and a truly humble, pious man. I hope for the pleasure of seeing you upon your return. Mrs. Newton desires her compliments to you ; and I beg you will believe me to be, with sincere respect, Sir, your obliged servant,

“ JOHN NEWTON.

“ *To Richard Houghton, Esq., at Dr. Byrom’s in Manchester.*”

Dr. Byrom commented as follows on Mr. Newton’s letter, and on Jonathan Edwards’s famous volume.

JOHN BYROM TO MR. HOUGHTON.

“ Jonathan Edwards, by this book’s edition,
Appears to be a dry metaphysician,”—
(In Mr. N.’s own letter,)—well might I
Be disappointed in a book so dry,
So sapless dry, who cherish no opinion
Of Calvinistic cobwebs, or Arminian.

To sweep away the last, was the design
Of this distinguish’d, favourite divine ;
His principal intention. Be it so ;
This was no part of my concern to know,
No part of my expectancy to find,
Whose hopes, though faint, were of a different kind.
Something, I fancied, worth attending to,
Might probably enough occur to view
Within a work which so sincere a friend
To what he thought was right did so commend.

If, when, for want of time to reconcile
Our thoughts in one short conversation while,
I ask’d what author he supposed, if read,
Would best explain his notions ? he had said,
“ I’ll send you one of the New-England sages,
Who, in four hundred full octavo pages,
Has by his dry and metaphysic skill
Demolish’d every meaning of Free-Will ;
But brought, in dire Necessity’s behoof,
Less obvious, less experimental proof ;
Leaving in this attempt the usual way
Of writing, which his other books display,”—
Such a description (and his words contain
No less, you see, if suffer’d to speak plain)
Might have diminish’d the profound surprise
Which in my mind would naturally rise,
Without the help of such a previous hint,
From dry “ Inquiry’s ” metaphysic print.

Without disparaging the work unknown,
I really could not relish this, I own ;
Nor cease to wonder how your neighbour could,
Who had himself said many things so good,
In sermons, far surpassing, if one looks,
All such polemically wither’d books.

In this too oft, instead of the divine,
 The wrangling soph appears along the line ;
 The trifling shuffler of distinctions round,
 All sense of words still fashion'd to confound,
 All obvious thoughts concerning good and ill,
 Through mere aversion to a man's Free Will ;
 Which, oft confess'd in phrases tantamount,
 The tedious page still rambles to discount,
 Its metaphysical conceits among,
 Dry as the cobwebs which they sweep along.

"The book has been in print for many years,
 And yet no answer," 'tis observed, "appears."
 But, would our honest friend consider why,—
 Its very dryness might forbid reply ;
 And metaphysics, such as it pursues,
 Require some patience even to peruse,—
 Want of an answer he would scarce object ;
 Since, by their own voluminous defect,
 Some books may possibly be deem'd too bad
 For any formal answer to be had.

But, take the book who likes it, Mr. N.
 Himself, for one, has much the better pen ;
 And, were his better sense but once untied
 From partial systems, upon every side,
 He would soon see that gratitude of mind
 Did not require God's grace to be confined ;
 And not to show like favour, in like case,
 In order more to magnify the grace ;
 As if it wanted, for a foil, to doom
 Its equal needers to eternal gloom.

"If I had been," says he, "but for the power
 Of grace bestow'd, blasphemers to this hour ;
 This grace to me if God is pleased to grant,
 Not to some others who have equal want ;
 I am, I think, in equal case of need,
 Peculiarly favour'd ; which, indeed,
 I rather would admire at, than dispute :
 And, after all, what harm can be the fruit
 Of happy change ascribed to Him alone,
 And to His goodness rather than my own ?"

Doubtless, all praise to God alone is due
 For happy change. But is it therefore true,
 That this good God refuses to admit
 The change in others, in all points as fit
 For such a blessing ? Will this Father leave
 One child without, that can or will receive ?
 Is a *self-righteousness* so much amiss,
 That makes man's merit greater than it is,
 And a *self-favour'dness* from danger free,
 That, clinging to its own peculiar me,
 Cries, "God ! I thank Thee that I am supplied
 With grace, to other men like me denied ?"

Let Mr. N. consider what is done
 (It is his own allusion) by the sun :
 Unchanged itself, it shines with equal day
 On equal fitness to receive its ray.
 All Calvinistic or Arminian strain
 Is cobweb search. A principle so plain
 Sets this (on which he goes) in its true light :
Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right ?

Byrom's death occurred September 26th, 1763; and he was buried in the Byrom chapel of the collegiate church, now the cathedral, of Manchester. On the 7th of the following month a warrant was issued against his estate, and a fine of £5 actually levied and paid, one half to the informer and one half to the poor of the parish, because he was buried in a shroud "not made of sheep's wool, according to the statute." This is rather a late instance of a conviction for contravening the requirements of the Act of Charles II. for burying in woollen, since repealed. The reader may remember Pope's

" 'Odious ! in woollen ! 't would a saint provoke,'
Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke."

For the information contained in this series of papers we have been mainly indebted to the "Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom," edited by the late Dr. Parkinson of Manchester, and printed for the Chetham Society; the several volumes of which have been kindly lent by Thomas Percival Bunting, Esq., of Manchester, to whom our obligations are thus acknowledged. The familiar terms in which Mr. Wesley is spoken of by Byrom throughout these papers will be tolerated, on the ground that Byrom did not write for publication, but for private reference, and that they bring before us the grand topics of discussion in that day. We know how to account for Mr. Wesley's firmness in conversing with a man of pliable character like Byrom; while our interest in the zealous evangelist, and in his learned friend, is heightened by having them brought into near view and practical contrast with each other. We admire Byrom's genius and learning: we thank God for Wesley's enlightened views, and for his firm adhesion to the truth of the Gospel.

ADDENDUM.

THE late Mr. James Nichols, in his *Life of Dr. Byrom*, compiled with his usual diligence and faithfulness, prefixed to his edition of his *Poems*, Leeds, 1814, thus characterizes this friend of the Wesleys, and notices the closing period of his life:—

He (Dr. Byrom) was a man of unaffected piety. His religion was without gloom; it did not hinder the exercise of habitual cheerfulness. That a person so conversant with the polite world as he was, should be consistently serious, and should command respect from the thoughtless and profane, are circumstances rather uncommon in their occurrence. His "rejoicing was this, the testimony of his conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity he had his conversation in the world." The negative virtue of harmlessness was not applicable to his character. Good nature will prevent a man from injuring his neighbour: to say that Mr. Byrom possessed this passive quality, would be small commendation of his active benevolence, which was ever prompting him to devise or perform some good for his fellow creatures. His native town was benefited by his gratuitous exertions and advice, on several public occasions when good nature and harmlessness would have been sorry substitutes for firmness and address.

Truth was the great object of his search. The God of truth, whom it was his sincere and constant desire to serve, gave him to "know the doctrine" of Christ Jesus, and to feel its saving influence. In his experience was verified that remarkable expression of the apostle, "And if in anything

ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." (Phil. iii. 15.) He entertained peculiar notions and whimsical opinions about many things; but they were not without variation. Not being in him principles of action, they never affected his practice. It was enough for him if one of them was discovered to be not according to the oracles of truth; it was instantly discarded, and no longer allowed to constitute one of the articles of his belief. The writings of our great English Mystic, Mr. William Law, had gained his most profound admiration; they are not equalled, by any author of that class, in purity and general utility. His intimacy with this good man served to counteract the unfavourable impressions which he had received from his early acquaintance with the Mystics of the Roman Catholic persuasion, some of whose doctrinal errors he had partially embraced. Towards the close of life he seems to have regarded all these little things with comparative indifference. In the prevalence of "pure religion and undefiled," he took the most lively concern. His thankfulness was excited when it flourished among any body of people: and the happy change which he lived to behold in the religious world was to him a source of exquisite satisfaction. At a time when much obloquy was attached to the name of a Methodist, he was not ashamed of being known as the particular friend of that great and useful man, the late Rev. John Wesley.

He attained to the advanced age of seventy-two years, enjoying good health, and outliving most of the friends of his youth. His placidity and cheerfulness never forsook him; and his company was particularly agreeable to young people. As long as he was able to walk abroad, they courted his society, and were instructed by his conversation. His carriage towards them was not that of an aged buffoon; and their familiarity with him was ever tempered with attention and respect. At length he was visited with a severe illness, which called into action his Christian resignation. Though it tried his virtues, it was to him a season of holy triumph. From his first experience of the power of religion, which was at an early age, he had always derived his chief pleasure from a knowledge of his interest in the mercies of God, through the merits of his Saviour. But now, engaged more immediately in a preparation for heaven, he viewed his departure from this world, at any time, as an event not to be dreaded. In favoured moments, when he considered death as the gate of life, he eagerly desired to pass at once the bounds, and to realize those sublime delights which, while seeing "through a glass darkly," he had often contemplated "with exultation and amaze." Had the worldlings known this, they might again have branded him as an enthusiast. But this was the legitimate enthusiasm of a Christian: he saw something desirable in heaven; something congenial to the taste and correspondent to the feelings formed in his soul, without which paradise itself would be barren of enjoyments. With these views, he was enabled to "rejoice in hope of the glory of God," and was admitted to the fruition of it on the 28th of September, 1763.

Something has been already said of Mr. Byrom's qualifications as an author. It is much to be regretted that he did not leave more specimens of his poetical abilities, which were of no mean order. Of these he had abundance: but possessing all the modesty of real merit, he judged most of them unfit for the inspection of the public, and destroyed them, it is said, some time before his last illness. Had he lived to see the publication of his "Miscellaneous Poems," and had the selection of them rested with himself, it cannot be doubted that not one in twenty of the verses which are inserted in these volumes would have seen the light. But these are the chief remains;

and are offered only as the gleanings of a great man's productions. Notwithstanding their occasional want of harmony and deficiency in smoothness, the most insignificant piece among them contains such a point and terseness, such ingenuity and good sense, as none but the performance of a master in numbers can exhibit.

His invention was fertile, his allusions happy, his imagery just ; and in no part of his poetry does there appear a defect, except in the finishing. Each of them may be considered as a kind of rapid impromptu, that never afterwards had one moment of polishing bestowed on it. From this observation must be excepted *Colin and Phœbe*, *Careless Content*, *The Centaur Fabulous*, the three *Lancashire Dialogues*, *Verses on purchasing the Head of Malebranche*, *On Preaching slowly and extempore*, *Essay on Enthusiasm*, *A penitential Soliloquy*, *The Divine Omnipresence*, and a *Hymn to Jesus*. These and some others display to advantage his capabilities as a poet.

Mr. Byrom's poetry has commonly received a false designation of its character from a curious circumstance. In a poetical letter (vol. i., p. 65) to Lord Willoughby, President of the Antiquarian Society, he informed his lordship that "it touches all England to have it defined,"

"With a little more fact, by what sort of a right,
Her patron, her saint, is a Cappadox knight."

He begged that "the learned and laborious would please to search this one question, Was old England's old patron a Knight or a Pope?"

The antiquarians made a mighty affair of his modest statement and reasoning, and magnified them into a challenge. The late Dr. Pegge entered the lists after our author's decease ; and in his answer depreciated his antagonist's poetical powers, by saying, "My late worthy friend Mr. Byrom, whose memory I shall always revere, was undoubtedly a man of parts and learning, but rather too fond sometimes of a paradox. Amongst his other qualifications, he had a particular knack at versification, and has accordingly delivered his sentiments on this subject in a metrical garb, for I presume we can scarce call it a poetical one." This character, of being but a versifier, has been repeated by different writers. The readiest mode of ascertaining its truth would be for one of them to clothe in a metrical garb the same facts and proofs as Mr. Byrom has produced in as small a compass and in as easy and flowing a style. If this can be done, he will have obtained the mastery, and Dr. Pegge's strictures will appear impartial and correct.

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